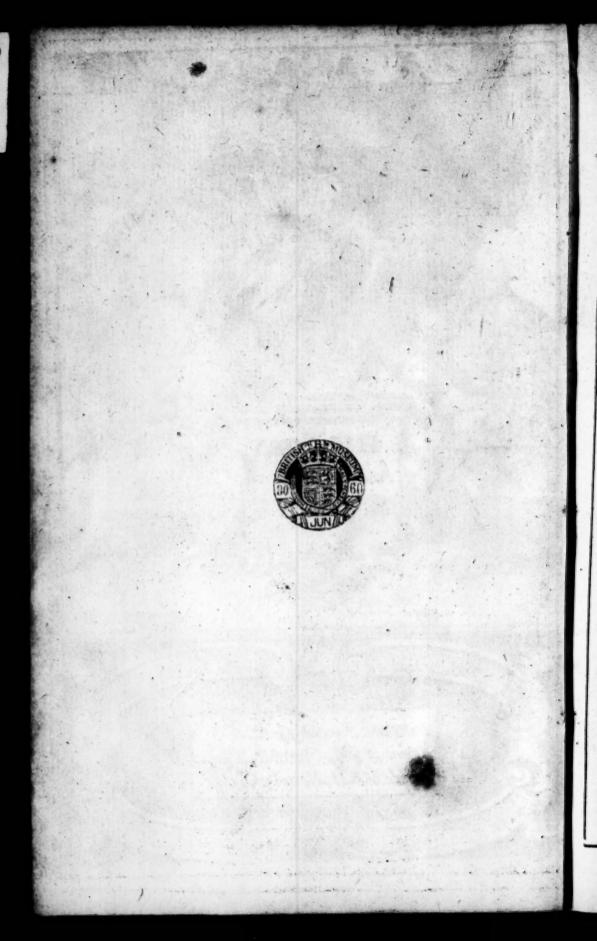
HISTORY Ancient Greece





THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

VOL. I.

Containing the Space of about 1660 Years; From the First PLANTATION

OF

GREECE,

To the PELOPONNESIAN War.

By THOMAS HIND, M. A. of Lincoln-College in Oxford.

LONDON,

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THE SE A

TO THE

Right Honourable

THE

Lord Keeper,

My Lord,

dress your LORDSHIP in so Publick a manner, had not the Reputation of your Candor given me good Grounds to hope for Your Favourable Acceptance of these Papers. And I flatter my self, that I shall not be deceived in my Expectation of your LORDSHIP's Favour, or at least your Pardon of my Presumption, in presixing your Name to this Undertaking, when you consider how hard it is for Men of your LORD. SHIP's Great Station and Merit, to escape Addresses of this Nature.

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Nothing is more Natural, than for Obscure Writers to shelter themselves under the Patronage of Men of Character and Figure in the World: And I esteem it my great Happiness, that being honour'd with your LORD-SHIP's Patronage, this Work is not only better recommended to the World, but my felf cannot be suspected of Flattery; your LORDSHIP's Name and Reputation being too well establish'd to need the Assistance of any Pen; much less of One, which, having vastly fallen short of the deserved Praises of those Illustrious Persons, who made so great a Figure in the GRECIAN History, dares not attempt a Character of your LORDSHIP, who in fucceeding Ages, will make a much Greater in our Own,

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If any thing can add to your LORDSHIP's Character, it is that you are advanc'd to your High Station by a QUEEN, who fills all Offices under her Sacred Person, with Men sittest to sustain the several Charges of Them; and who wou'd not therefore have made choice of your LORDSHIP, could she have found ONE better qualify'd for that Great Trust, which Her MAJESTY has repos'd in You. And, amongst all the other visible Essets of Her Majesty's Prudent Choice

of Her Ministers, none has more remarkably appear'd, than That of your LORDSHIP's Presiding in a Court, where by your unwearied Application, and quick Dispatch, Justice sinds a very speedy Course; It being your Peculiar Happiness, at first View to discern the Merits of a Cause, and your unshaken Resolution to pronounce on whatsoever side

you find Truth and Justice lie.

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All Men know what early Prefages of your Prefent Greatness you gave, when you made your first Appearances at the Bar; So that, it is not so much to be wonder'd, that you are advanc'd to that Station, which You at present deservedly enjoy, as that You were advanc'd no sooner. And your LORDSHIP cannot but be sensible how all Men conspire to Approve Her MAJESTT's Choice, when you behold your Court crowded with Those, who come to hear your LORDSHIP decide, with the same Attention and Delight, wherewith they lately heard you Plead.

I need not acquaint the World with your LORDSHIP's many other Extraordinary Qualities, such as your Great Condescension and Affability, your Pleasant and Chearful Behaviour to all, who have the Honour to enjoy your LORD.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

LORDSHIP's Conversation; your great Natural Endowments, improv'd by vast Application and Study in the Law; your Wonderful Abilities for the Service of your Country. These are Subjects, which, as I know your LORDSHIP had much rather I should pass over in silence, so I doubt not but they will be deliver'd to Posterity by a much better Pen.

I shall trespass upon your LORDSHIP and the PUBLICK no longer, than whilft I defire you to Accept the Following Papers: If there be any thing in them, which shall, in any measure, answer your LORDSHIP's Expectations, I shall esteem my Pains abundantly recompens'd, and shall be very unconcern'd what Other Men shall Think or Say of Them. I do not Imagine my Performance to be without its Faults; yet I hope they are not more than your LORDSHIP's Candor will forgive, trusting that you will not fo much regard the Present it self, as that Zeal for your LORDSHIP's Person, wherewith it is Offer'd, and the unfeign'd Desire I have of declaring to the World, that I am,

My LORD,
Tour LORDSHIP's Most Obedient,
and Devoted Humble Servant,

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PREFACE

Greece appear'd in our own Language; some have thought, that such a Performance would be no unacceptable piece of Service. The only Attempt of this Nature is Written in Latin by Ubbo Emmius, who has collected the History of Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon; but there being many Things, which afford better Light to the Designs and Intrigues of the several States of Greece, and the Humours and Characters of Particular Men, more fully related by other Authors, that Performance cannot be thought so perfect, as to prevent all farther Improvements upon this Subject.

The following Undertaking contains the History of abot 1 660 Years, from the first Plantation of Greece, to the Peloponnesian War. I have endeavour'd, by way of Introduction, to give some Account of the Original of this People, and to represent the most receiv'd Opinions of Learn-

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The PREFACE.

ed Men concerning it, as briefly and clearly as I could. In the first Book, I have drawn up a short Sum of their Fabulous History; in the following Books, especially after the Beginning of the Olympiads, there being a greater Appearance of Truth, the Way lies plain through a Fair and Open Country. I hope Things are related in such Order, that the Thread of the Story is no where broken, nor the Reader's view distracted with different Prospects: And to make every Thing more clear, I have, where I thought it Necessary, plac'd the Chronology at the side of the Page, wherein I have follow'd the Account of Arch-Bishop Usher.

I have nothing to add in the Behalf of this Undertaking, but that it has been revised by One, whose Skill in these Matters no Man can doubt, who has Read the ANTIQUITIES of Greece. He it was, who first put me upon this Design, and has all along, out of his great Friendship to me, afforded me his Assistance in it. So that, if there he any thing in this Performance, which shall recommend it to the Reader, I do here freely acknowledge it to be entirely His.

commende all that Country which on the Well to

on the South by the Ithmus, which joins it to the Pelopones for Cographers was properly Controlled Cherometers

Concerning the Plantation and first Inhabitants of GREECE.

to Sicily, and forte of the Maritime EFORE we proceed to a particular Relation of the many Wars and Expeditions, the Changes and Revolutions which happen'd in the feveral Republicks of Greece, it may not be thought impertinent to our present Design, to trace out as distinct and clear an Account of the Names and Inhabitants of this Country from their first Original, as can be grounded on probable Story, or fair Conjecture, from those remote and first Ages of the World. It may be some Satisfaction to a curious Reader, to know from whence this mighty People forung, to view them in their ancient Principles of Weakness and Distress, in their very Infancy and Birth; and to fee from what mean and obscure Beginnings they became a Nation to Happy in her civil Institutions, fo Flourishing in Arts and Learning, and so Renown'd for her Arms, both at Home and Abroad. And to make this Account more plain and intelligible, it will be necessary in the first place to observe the several acceptations of this Name, GREECE. As and A MARINA

The first, and most ancient, that we read of in the Writers of the Grecian Story, is that by which is meant that small part of Thessaly, which in following Ages was distinguish'd by the known Appellation of Pthiotis. Another, and much later Sense,

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comprehends all that Country which on the West is divided from Epirus by the River Achelous, on the North from Theffaly by the Mountains Othrys and Oeta, bounded on the East by the Agean Sea, and on the South by the Isthmus, which joins it to the Peloponnesus. This is what by ancient Geographers was properly call'd Greece; afterwards Peloponnesus, Epirus, Macedonia; Crete, and all the other Islands. which lay round that part of the Continent, were taken into the account. As Colonies were planted abroad, the Name was transported into forreign Countries, into Sicily, and some of the Maritime Parts of Italy and Asia. But the most common acceptation includes a much narrower compais, viz. Only that part of the Continent of Europe, which on the East is bounded by the Agean, on the West by the Ionian Sea, on the North divided from Moefia, and Illyricum, by that vast Ridge of Hills, which ftretch themselves along the Borders of Thrace and Macedonia, and go under the Names of Scardus and Hamus, and from Thrace by the River Strymon; and on the South encompass'd by the Cretan Sea. Its utmost Length, from Tenarus, a Promontory of Peloponnesus, measuring through the Isthmus to the Fountains of Strymon, extends about 400 Italian Miles, its Breadth about 320, from Sunium, a Promontory in the most extreme parts of Attica, to the Mountains Acroceraunia, on the most North-Western Coast of Epirus.

Concerning the Name and Original of the first Inhabitants of this Country, there has been very much Debate amongst the curious Searchers into Antiquity. As for the Accounts left of it by their own Authors, they are either so clouded by the incredible Tales of Poets, or so very lame and imperfect, that scarce any thing of Certainty, or even Probability, can be built upon them, and serve only to betray the Ignorance, or Vanity peculiar to this Nation. A Man Country Learning thinks they

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were first call'd Tegios, or Tegins, and that this Name may, with an easy transposition of the Letters, be deduced from Ragau the Son of Phaleg (a). Others are of Opinion, that they were fo call'd, either from a little Village (b), or a very obscure King, Greens (c). the Son (d), or according to other accounts, the Father of Theffalus (e), from whom the Country Thessalia deriv'd its Name (f). This was a Name they foon quitted for that of Achei or Hellenes (g), and by these two last they are generally call'd in ancient Authors. Those who have made more strict Enquiries into these early Ages are almost univerfally agreed, that the Grecians were first call'd Iones or laones. This Name the Greeks themselves derive from Ion the Son of Xuthus (h), or of Apollo by Creusa the Daughter of Erectbeus (i): but this has been fince traced by learned Men from a much more ancient Stock, and carry'd as high as Javan (the Fourth Son of Japhet, and Grandson to Noab) who, as they suppose, first Peopled Greece. And that this is no strain'd Conjecture they think doth appear, both from the near resemblance of his Name, to that of the Ancient Greeks, or Iaones. (which, according to the old broad Pronunciation, with the infertion of the Lolick Digamma, always used between two Vowels, is made Javones) and the yet nearer Analogy between the Hebrew word m Javan, before the Points were added by the Majorites, and the Greek, 'lov. This is very agreeable to the account of Moses (k), who tells us, that by these, i.e. the Sons or Posterity of Japhet, Noah's second Son, were the Isles of the Gentiles divided; by which in the Hebrew Language are meant, not

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⁽a) Salmasius de Hellenistica p. 2. c. 1. p. 342. (b) Suidas in voce Ppunés. (c) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 4. c. 7. Isidor. Origin. l. 14. c. 4. (d) Steph. Byzantin. in voce Ppunés. (e) Euseb. Chronic. p. 25 in auem locum vid. Scaligeri notas. (f) Steph. Byzantin. in voce Diornala. (g) Thucyd. l. 1. Aristot. Meteor. l. 1. c. 14. (h) Pausanias in Achaicis. Herodot. l. 8. c. 44. Apollodor. l. 1. c. 7. (i) Steph. Byzantin. in voce Ima, (k) Gen. 10. 5.

only Islands strictly fo call'd, but all the Maritime Countries at any distance from Palastine, those especially which lay between the Ocean and Mediterranean Sea; fo that in this Sence both Greece and Italy may very reasonably be comprehended under that Name. 'Tis true indeed, that among the Greeks themselves, only the Athenians originally, and such Colonies as sprung from them, were distinguish'd by this Name; however, it is evident beyond exception, that among other Nations all the Inhabitants of Greece were call'd by one common Appellation of This will appear, not only from the concurrent Testimonies of Hesychius (1), and the Scholiast on Aristophanes (m), but from the undeniable Authority of the Scriptures themselves, where in several places Javan is put for Greece. Three Instances of this we have in Daniel, where Alexander, as the LXX render it, is call'd Banke's Exxiror, King of the Grecians. VIII.21. When I am gone forth, behold the Prince of Græcia Shall come. X. 20. And again, He shall stir up all against the Realm of Gracia. XI. 2. where tho' the vulgar Translations have not render'd it Javan, yet that is found to be the Word in the Original. Another Instance we have in Isaiah, I will send those that escape of them to the Nations in the Sea, in Italy, and in Greece. LXVI. 19. in which place the Tigurine and Geneva Versions still retain the Hebrew words, Tubal and Javan, instead of Italy and Greece. This Opinion feems yet more probable, upon the account of the clear Remains of Javan's eldest Son Elisha, which the Learned Bochartus has discover'd in the Name of one of the most considerable Parts of Peloponnesus, which from him in all Probability, he thinks, was call'd Elis (n). And this is the Account generally given of the first Plantation of Greece, by Javan the Grandson of Noah.

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⁽¹⁾ In voce lana. (m) Azugine, p. 376. Aur. Allob. (n) Phaleg. 1. 3. c. 4.

There is another Opinion concerning the Original of the Grecians advanc'd by a Man of great Learning, who thinks the former Account ought to be confined to that People which afterwards posses'd Greece, and not extended to its first Plantation (o). His Conjecture is, that the true Father and Founder of this Nation was Peleg or Phaleg; and that Greece, as well as most of the other Nations in Europe, owes its Birth and Beginnings to the barbarous and savage Race of the Scythians, who descended from Phaleg: which Opinion receives fome strength from the Authority of Epiphanius, who fays, that, from the Age of Therah and thence forward, Phaleg and Ragau diverted towards the Clime of Europe to Part of Scythia, and were join'd to those Nations from which the Thracians sprung (p). This Phaleg he takes to be the same with the Grecian Pelalgus, whom that Nation pretend to be their Founder; and it must be granted, that this is no very hard Conjecture, if we allow that variation of the Eastern words common amongst the Greeks, by giving their own terminations to barbarous Names, and melting the harshest and most offensive into easy and pleasant Sounds. There are other learned Men of the same Opinion (9), and the chief Arguments, which may be produced to confirm it, are as follows.

and ancient Greek in many of its primitive Words, which are evidently of Eastern extraction; and this may proceed from the Greeks mixing with Phaleg's Company, or, as they are otherwise call'd, the Pelassi, and both being incorporated into one People; and cannot perhaps with so fair a shew of Probability (according to the common Opinion) be derived from Cadmus and his Phanicians, who were

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⁽o) Bp. Stillingsleet Orig. Sacræ. Book 3. c. 4. (p) Epiphanius de Scythismo in Respons. ad Acacium & Paulum. (q) Grotius in notis ad c. 3. l. 1 de Jure B. & P. Salmasius de Hellenissica.

foon driven out of Greece into Illyricum, having neither dispers'd themselves wide enough, nor made such large Conquests, that they could introduce any

change or mixture in the Language.

2. Another Argument is drawn from the different Pronunciation and Dialects in use among the Grecians, of which none so probable account can be given, as the mixture with different Languages. Of all the Dialects, the Dorick approaches nearest to the Eastern Languages, both in its broad Pronunciation, and in adding a to the end of Words, a thing peculiar to the Syriack amongst the Oriental Tongues, and only design'd to make the Pronunciation more broad.

3. The third and last Argument is borrow'd from the Remainders of the Eastern Languages in those Places especially where the Pelasgi had been; particularly in Crete, Chios, and Lesbos. Most of the Cretan Words the excellent Bochartus has derived from the Oriental Languages (r); the Names Lesbos, Chios, the Mountain Pelinaus, and the Wine Arvisum, both in this Island, he thinks are of the same extraction (s). 'Tis true that learned Author ascribes all these Names to the Phanicians, but generally upon no other account, than their being of an Eastern derivation.

Fables in favour of this Opinion, built upon the Story of Prometheus, and the Samothracian Mysteries. Prometheus, from whom the Greeks pretend themselves descended (as the Story tells) was bound upon Mount Caucasus in Scythia, which we may rationally suppose was his native Country. As for the Samothracian Mysteries, their Names are all deriv'd from the Eastern Languages, as is now acknowledg'd by all learned Men. The Cabiri do manifestly come from the Hebrew, Cabir, which significant control of the Samothracian of the Sa

⁽r) Bochart, Canaan l. 1. c. 15. (s) Ibid. c. 9.

nifies strong, powerful; and from hence some have derived the Dii potes amongst the Romans, and they are thus explain'd by Varro (t), and Tertullian (u). The particular Names of the several Cabiri, mention'd by the Scholiast on Apollonius (w), are with great Learning derived from the Eastern Languages by the incomparable Bochartus, who, out of a singular fond Conceit of ascribing every thing to the Phanicians, deduces all those Names from them (x). But this seems contrary to the express Testimony of Herodotus, who assirms, that the Cabiri and their Mysteries, were first brought into Greece by the Pelasgi, and that the Samothracians learnt them from them (y): and in all probability they had the Names

from whence they receiv'd the Mysteries.

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These are the Opinions of learned and ingenious Men, concerning the first Plantation of Greece, which are at best so uncertain, that it would be tedious to infift upon them any longer. I shall therefore in the next place proceed to give fome short Account of those, whom the most Judicious among the Greeks themselves thought the most ancient, and remarkable, tho' they might not pollibly be the first, Inhabitants. We have a large Catalogue of the Names of some of them, as the Dryopes, Caucones, Leleges, Aones, Temmices, Hyantes (z): but these may probably be some later Relicks of the Carians, who, as an Historian of their own tells us, made frequent Incursions upon the Territories of Greece (a). The People of largest Extent and greatest Antiquity, that have made any Noise in the Grecian Story were the Pelasgi. Areadia seems to have been the first or chief place of their Residence; for the Arcadians, who are generally esteem'd the most ancient People in Greece, pretended one Pelasgus to be their Founder, whom

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⁽t) Varro de ling. Lat. l. 4. (u) Tertullian. de Spectaculis c. 8; (w) Argonautic. l. 1. v. 917. (x) Bochart. Canaan c. 12. (y) Herodot. l. 2. c. 51. (z) Strabo l. 7. p. 321. (a) Thucyd. l. 1.

they call'd an Alfaybar, a Name commonly given to them whose Original they were unacquainted with. This Pelalgus with his Company got fo much Footing in Peloponnesus, that from him the whole Peninfula was call'd Pelasgia (b). Another place we meet them in is Attica, and Paulanias mentions their being under the Acropolis at Athens (c). We find them likewise much higher in Epirus, and Theffaly, one part of which was from them call'd Pelasgia; and some have thought that they laid the Foundation of the famous Oracle of Dodona (d). By Degrees they spread themselves almost over all Greece, and as the Continent began to be too narrow a Confinement, either for their Numbers or their wandering Temper, they dispers'd themselves into many of the adjacent Islands, as Chios, Crete, Lesbos, Lemnos, Imbros and Samos, and at last came into Italy, and are by some thought to have been the fame with the Tyrrheni, and the first Founders of Rome (e). And by reason of these frequent Removals some think they were call'd Headepol, Storks (f).

Next to the Pelasgi the People of greatest note were the Hellenes. This People at first under Deucalion were Masters only of Pthiotis, at which time the Name Hellas did not universally obtain over the rest of Greece; for Homer who is much later than the Trojan War, no where throughout his whole Poem calls any of the Grecians by the Name Hellenes, except those who follow'd Achilles from Pthiotis (g). But by Degrees they reduc'd all Thessaly under their Power, and as they got ground of the Pelasgi, Greece was divided into in stades growing, and in Examples. Under Dorus the Son of Hellen they subdued Hessia-otis, that part of Thessaly which lies under the Mountains Ossa and Olympus, from whence they were driven back by the Cadmeans into Macednus,

⁽b) Steph. Byzantin. in voce Medon ormeros. (c) Pausanias in Atticis. (d) Strabo 1.7. p. 339. (e) Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. 1.1. (f) Strabo 1. 5. p. 221. (g) Thucyd. 1. 1.

upon the Mountain Pindus. From this place they foon return'd to Dryopis, and from hence made their way into Peloponnesus, where they were call'd

Dores (h), from Dorus their Leader (i).

From the several Names of the ancient Greeks we come now to speak something of their Manners and Course of Life. The Sum of what we find related of them by the most credible Witnesses amongst their own Writers is, that they were a rude and savage People, tho' in after Ages they so far excell'd all their Neighbours in the Arts and Sciences as to be esteem'd the most learned and polite Part of the World: By which Means they were rais'd to fuch a Pitch of Pride as to be asham'd of their true Original, and to invent monstrous and absurd Fables either to conceal, or make it appear great and illustrious. Pelasgus first taught them to feed on Acorns, as a more innocent and wholfome Nourishment than their wonted Diet, which before his time confilted chiefly of Roots and Herbs; for using these Carelesly and without Distinction, they frequently eat those which were very hurtful and pernicious to the Constitution. From him they learnt to make Coats of Skins, the only Cloaths then worn to cover their Bodies; and from him also they learnt to build little Cottages to fence against the Rain, against intemperate Heat, or excess of Cold: for all which useful Discoveries his Memory was held in great Veneration (k). But with this Alteration of their Diet, and wonted Course of Living, he wrought no Change in their Manners, nor introduc'd so much as the Face or Appearance of Civility amongst them. For no such thing as Property, nor even the common Rights of human Nature were preserv'd or maintain'd; and by reason of the Robberies, and mutual Violences daily committed on each other, Greece had no con-

⁽h) Herodot. l. 1. (i) Apollodor. l. 1. c. 7. Conon Narrat. 27-(k) Pausanias in Arcadicis.

flant and settled Inhabitants, but was subject to continual Changes and Revolutions, the stronger always dispossessing the weaker, as they were invited by the Fruitfulness of their Neighbour's Ground, or diffatisfy'd with the Barrenness of their Wherefore the richest Soil was liable to the most frequent Attempts, such were those Countries, which in following Ages took the Names of Theffaly and Bootia, and the greatest part of Peloponnesus, except Arcadia. Amidst all these Disturbances Attica alone enjoy'd any Quiet, and preferv'd its ancient and first Inhabitants, its only Defence being a craggy and unfruitful Soil, that could afford no Fuel for Contention. And this gave Occasion to their extravagant Fancy, that they sprung out of the Earth, and as a Badge of their Antiquity some of them wore golden Grass-hoppers twisted into their Curls (1). But to return, this barbarous Custom of Robbing continued to Thefeus's time, 'That Age producing a Race of Mortals for Strength of Arms, Swiftness of Foot, and Vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary Rate of Men; in Labour and Exercise indefatigable, but making use of these Gifts of Nature to nothing, either good or 'profitable to Mankind, but rejoycing and taking Pride in Insolence, pleasing themselves in the En-'joyment of their Cruelty and Inhumanity, in ' seising, forcing, and committing all manner of Out-'rages upon every thing that fell into their Hands: who thought Civility and Justice, Equity and Humanity, which many prais'd, either for want of Courage, to commit Injuries, or for Fear of receiving them, no ways to concern those who were most Daring and most Strong (m). Wherefore they were forc'd (like the Barbarians of later Ages) to go constantly Arm'd; and this was universal amongst them, till the Athenians, among whom were the

⁽¹⁾ Thucyd. l.t. (m) Plutarch, in Thefeo.

first Appearances of Civility, ventur'd to lay their

Armour down, and live like Men.

As the Land was infelted with Robbers, fo was the Sea no less with Pirates; for the Greeks, who liv'd upon those parts of the Continent which border'd upon the Sea, and the Islanders, under the Command of their boldest Men, turn'd Privateers, and making frequent Descents upon the Cities which in these times lay naked and defenceless, liv'd upon the Spoils and Plunder of each other; and this, instead of meeting with Shame and Punishment, was lookt upon as an Instance of Courage and Bravery, and obtain'd Vogue and Credit in the World. Upon this Account many of the ancient Cities stood at a great Distance from the Sea (n). Minos with his Fleet (which is the most ancient we read of in the Grecian Story) scour'd the Seas; Hercules, and Thefeus, and other Heroes in Imitation of them, clear'd the Land of these impudent Invaders. But the Locri Ozola, the Etoli, Acarnanes, and those who border'd upon them, were many Ages after notorious for Robbing (0).

So long as these Robberies by Sea and Land were universally practic'd, they neither planted nor fow'd more than what was sufficient for the Relief of their present Necessities; their Grounds therefore lay rough and uncultivated, and they had no Opportunity of endeavouring to make any Discoveries in the Art of Husbandry. But this is not the only thing which betrays the extreme Ignorance of the ancient Greeks, for they feem to have been as little acquainted with the Art of War, if Homer's Accounts of them be true, who frequently makes a fingle Hero put whole Squadrons of the Enemy to Flight. In these Ages they seem to have had little or no Knowledge of the Use of Money, and some are of Opinion that no fuch thing was known or heard of even in Homer's time, because wherever

⁽n) Thucyd. l. 1. (o) Idem ut prini.

he mentions any Exchange we never find that they us'd Money, and particularly in that remarkable one between Glaucus and Diomedes, he says the Former's Golden Armour was worth an Hundred Oxen, the Other's of Brass but Nine (p); thus making Cattle the Measure and Standard of both Metals.

Another Instance of the Grecian Simplicity was their want of some fixt and certain Measure of their Time. For they had so little Knowledge in Astronomy, before they learnt it of the Eastern Nations, that they only counted from the time of Sowing and Reaping, of Labouring and Sleeping, but did not divide the Day into Hours, or any Number of equal Parts, much less had they any regular Form of the Year.

Before the Entrance of Cadmus they had no Letters, he and his Phanicians first brought them into Greece (q); but their Alphabet was not perfected by Cadmus, for he only introduc'd Sixteen, Palamedes in the Trojan War, invented Four, and Simonides many Ages after adding Four more, made the whole Number compleat Twenty Four (r). The Phanicians likewise taught them Trade and Navigation.

After they had the Use of Letters it doth not appear that for a long time they had any written Laws, but that they were generally govern'd by indefinite Sentences and Precepts of their Kings, referring all to their Prudence according to which

Judgment enfued (s).

Many other Instances might be produc'd, but these already mention'd are sufficient, to shew how rude and unpolish'd the Greeks were during their instant State. One great Reason of their continuing unciviliz'd for so many Ages, was their having little or no Correspondence with sorreign Nations,

⁽p) 12, ad. Z. v. 236. (q) Herodot. l. 5. c. 58. (r) Plin. Nat. Hift. l. 7. c. 56. (s) Josephus contra Apion. l. 2. which

which at first was in a great Measure prevented by the valt Swarms of Pirates, which lay continually hovering about their Coasts. But when the Seas were clear'd, and they had an Opportunity of travelling and converfing with the politer Parts of the World, Greece foon forgot its wonted Fierceness, and tamely submitted to the milder Precepts of Learning and Religion. In former Ages Orpheus, Museus, Melampus, and Dædalus travell'd into Agypt, from whence as their own Historians confess, the Grecians borrow'd many of their facred and religious Rites. and the Names of most of their Gods (t). By degrees, as they became more acquainted with other Nations, the same Humour of Travelling encreas'd. for Homer and Lycurgus, in succeeding Ages, visited many other Countries besides Ægypt. If we look still lower we shall find it to have so generally prevail'd, that there are scarce any of the first Masters in any Art or Science, but what had travell'd. The Ægyptian Priests being in these Ages esteem'd the Men of finest Parts and Learning in the World, the Reputation of their extraordinary Knowledge drew all the greatest Genius's of Greece into Agypt. Hither flockt their Sages, Philosophers, and Lawgivers, fuch were Thales of Miletus, Solon of Athens. Pythagoras of Samos, Democritus of Abdera, Plato, and many others. The Egyptians taught them Geometry, gave them a Tast of the other Arts and Sciences. and had the Honor first to polish them by their Laws. But tho'they address'd themselves chiefly to Egypt, yet they convers'd with many other Nations, as Allyria and Persia, for the Babylonians taught them Astronomy; and the Persians, Magick (u). Thus did the Grecians by conversing with the politer Nations, not only become Civil, but by degrees attain'd to fuch an Excellence in all the Arts and Sciences, as to be accounted the most learned and ingenious part

⁽t) Diodor. Sic. Bibliothec, Hist. l. 1. Herod. l. 2. c. 50. (u) Tatian, Orat, contra Gracos.

of Mankind. But they foon forgot their Benefactors, and in the Height and Splendour of their Fortune grew fo Presumptuous, as to distinguish the rest of the World by the reproachful Name of Barbarous, and despise the very Nations to whom they ow'd all the Means of their best Improvements.

By this short View of Greece in its most ancient and primitive State, we may see from what poor and contemptible Beginnings it first grew, and what slow Advances it made in the Pursuit of Glory. But that the Reader may take a more distinct Prospect of the several Affairs of each little State, and see by what Steps the whole Nation arriv'd to its succeeding Greatness, which made it the Envy and Fear of the whole World, I shall pursue their general History under these Four remarkable Periods.

1. The First includes near 900 Years, from the Foundation of the Tyrannies, or little Kingdoms, to the Siege of Troy.

2. The Second about 700 more, from the Trojan

War, to the Battle of Marathon.

3. The Third something less than 170, from the Battle of Marathon, to the Death of Alexander.

4. The Fourth and Last about 155 Tears, from the Death of that Conqueror, after which they began to decline, till at last they sunk under the Power of the Romans. are in the labor pines, par

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THE

History of GREECE.

BOOK I.

The fabulous Age of Greece, from the Foundation of the Sicyonian Kingdom, to the taking of Troy. Containing the Space of about 900 Years.

Infancy of Greece, may be referr'd the Foundation of Athens, Sparta, Thebes, Argos, Corinth and Sicyon; The Attempt of the Danaides, the Labours of Hercules, the tragical Adventures of Oedipus, the Expedition of the Argonautae, Minos's War with Thefeus, that of the Seven Captains against Thebes, the Siege of Troy; and in a Word, all the Exploits of her first Heroes, whose Names are recorded in the List of Fame for their generous Valour, in protecting the Weak and Innocent, and repressing the Force and Violence of the barbarous Men of those early Ages.

Amongst the little Cities and States great was the Contention for Antiquity, each one, if they had receiv'd no Tradition from their Ancestors, concerning their Original, or had liv'd for any con-

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tinued Succession of Years in the same place, presently fancy'd themselves sprung out of the Earth; or else seign'd some Mortal, begotten by a God on the stoln Embraces of some straggling Nymph, to be their Founder.

As far as can be discover'd, at this distance of time, from the Records of ancient Story, cover'd with Fables, and worn out by the Ruft of fo many Ages, the first place in Antiquity seems to belong to Sicyon, a City fituate on the Bay of Corinth, and the Confines of Achaia: concerning which we have A. M. little more left us, than that one Egialeus built it, 1915, and founded a Kingdom here, about 232 Years before the time of Inachus, without any farther Account by what Laws he govern'd, or in what Form he establisht it: that from him the City was first call'd Egiulea, and according to other Accounts part of the Peninsula too, till Sicyon the Sixteenth King of this City impos'd on it his own Name, and the whole Country was from thence call'd Sicyonia; that there was a long Succession of Kings, but we hear of no remarkable Action they ever did or undertook; that after it had continued the Space of 962 Years, the Priests of Apollo Carneus obtain'd the Sovereignty, and held it 32 (a); Or, according to Pau-Sanias's account, it was incorporated with the Dores, and became subject to Argos (b).

The only City brought into Competition with Sicyon for Antiquity is Argos, in ancient times the most celebrated in the Peloponnesus. Inachus the Son A. M. of Oceanus and Tethys built this City and erected the List Kingdom. By his Sister Melissa he had two Sons, Phoroneus and Ægialeus; from this latter notwithstanding he Died without Issue, the Country was call'd Ægialea (c); and for this reason perhaps he is consounded with the other Ægialeus, Founder of the Sicyonian Kingdom, which upon the same account is by some thought later than the Kingdom of Argos.

(a) Euseb, in Chron, Connection, in Corinth, (c) Apollod. 1.2. c.1.

However this be, it is certain that in Dignity, Power and Riches, Argos far exceeded it. Phoroneus, the other Son, fucceeded his Father Inachus, and having obtain'd the Government of the whole Country, which was afterwards call'd Peloponnesus, by the Nymph Laodice had Apis and Niobe. He first gather'd the People into the City, who were before dispers'd about the Country, and from him the City was call'd Phoronicum (d). Upon the Death of Phoroneus, Apis succeeded in the Kingdom, who, by all the accounts we have left concerning him, appears to have been a Tyrant; and from him the whole Peninsula was named Apia. Apis being circumvented by the Treachery of Thelxion and Telchin of Sicyon, and Dying without Issue, was number'd amongst the Gods, under the Title of Serapis. Some make him to have Travel'd into Agypt, but there being feveral others of this Name, one of Sicyon, and another of Egypt, we can gather nothing of Certainty from the accounts of Mythologists, who constantly confound Things and Persons, and ascribe what was done by many to one, of the same Name. His Sister Niobe, the first Woman whom Jupiter lov'd, had a Son, by that God infamous for his Lust, call'd Argos, who succeeding Apis in the Kingdom, impos'd his own Name upon the City, and whole Peninsula (e).

Not many Years after the Building of Argos is A. M. generally placed the Foundation of Thebes, the Me- 2158. tropolis of Baotia. This Country was, according to some accounts, first inhabited by the Ettena, under Ogyges their King, the first Man who Reign'd in Baotia, and built the City, which from him many of the Poets call Ogygia (f). But the more common Opinion is, that Calydnus was the first King of this City, that from him it was most anciently nam'd Calydna, and that Ogyges was younger than Calydnas;

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⁽d) Pausanias in Corinthiacis. (e) Apollodor. ut supra. (f) Pau-Janias in Bæoticis. and

and some don't scruple to make him his immediate Successor.

At the Beginning of the following Age fell out 2308, the famous Ogygian Deluge, which over-run all Attica and Achaia, then subject to Ogyges. ing this Person there are very different accounts, some think he was an Agyptian, others an Arcadian, and others that he was King of Thebes. The most common Opinion is, that he was King of Attica, which from him was call'd Ogygia (g). He was a very powerful Prince, and the Founder of feveral Cities, particularly of Eleusis, so call'd from the Heroe of that Name, his Son. Chronologers are not agreed about the time wherein he liv'd; fome make him Contemporary with the Patriarch Jacob, about the Sixty Seventh Year of whose Age they suppose him to have been Born (b); and others bring him as low as Moses (i). His Reign is the utmost Period that the Athenian Stories, or Tradition ever pretended to reach. By this Deluge Attica was laid waste, and almost unpeopled; and for the space of One Hundred and Ninety Years, according to Eusebius's account, there was no King, till Cecrops reflored, or rather founded the Athenian Kingdom(k).

About the later End of this Age the City Sparta was built; but this is by some brought as low as Crotopus King of Argos, the Beginning of whose Reign is near 200 Years later. Who it was that first laid the Foundation of this samous City and Kingdom, is variously reported. If Eusebius's Account be true, it was built by Spartas the Son of Phoroneus (1); or according to others his Brother: Some make him the Son of Amyclas (m); there is one Sparton (which in all probability is the same Name)

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⁽g) Steph. Byz. in voce Dyriz. (h) Hieronym. Chronic. Euseb. (i) Justin. Martyr. Or at. ad Gentes. (k) Euseb. Chronic. (l) Idem Chronic. Canon. (m) Eustath in Wand. B. Stephan. Byzantin. in voce Auxsduipur.

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by some reputed Brother (n), and by others Son to Phoroneus; but Pausanias is of Opinion, he had no Son of that Name (o). The Tradition among the Lacedamonians themselves, was, that one Lelex an 'Aorix Dow, was the first who reign'd in Laconia, and that his Subjects were from him call'd Leleges. He had two Sons, Myles and Polycaon; Myles the Elder succeeded Lelex in the Kingdom, and lett it to his Son Eurotas. Laconia being a boggy Soil, and full of Marishes, Eurotas, that he might drain the Country, cut a Channel, into which such vast Quantities of Water sell, as made a River call'd by his Name Eurotas. Dying without Male Issue, he appointed Lacedamon his Successor, who had marry'd his Daughter Sparte.

He was the Son of Jupiter by Taygeta, from whom the Mountain Taygetus receiv'd its Name, and upon his first Accession to the Throne, call'd the Country and Inhabitants by his own, and the City which he afterwards built by his Wife's Name, which it always after retain'd (p). And therefore when any Distinction is made between the City and Country, the former is properly call'd Sparta, and the other Lacedamon; but they are sometimes us'd promiscuously, and the same Name comprehends indifferently both City and Country. There is another Account which derives the Name Sparta from Cadmus and his Sparti, who making an Irruption into Laconia call'd the whole Country Sparta (q): but this is too gross even for the Greeks themfelves, who reject it as a meer Tale and Fiction.

In the next Age flourish'd Prometheus, Epime-2322. theus, Hesperus and Atlas the Sons of Japetus King of Mauritania, by the Nymph Clymene. Prometheus was famous for stealing Fire from Heaven, and with it animating his lifeless Images of Clay; Jupiter, as the Poets seign, for his Punishment bound him upon Mount Caucasus, where an Eagle daily sed

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⁽n) Idem in voce Muximus. (o) Pausanias in Corinthiacis. (p) Idem in Laconicis. (q) Steph. Byz. in voce Emupth. Eustath. in Odoro. A

upon his Entrails, which as fast as the Bird devour'd, were constantly renew'd, to make his Torment the more lasting. His Brother Epimetheus also having form'd a Man of Clay, Jupiter was fo enraged at it, that he fent Pandora, a Woman made by Vulean at his command, and adorn'd with all the Accomplishments the Gods could give her, with a Box full of Diseases to revenge himself upon the daring Wickedness of Mankind. Hesperus being expell'd his Kingdom, fled into Italy, and gave the Name of Helperia to that Country. A Fable goes of him, that being with his Brother Atlas upon a very high Mountain, from whence they might more distinctly obferve the Motion of the Stars, he was suddenly fnatch'd out of Sight, and never feen again. People for his many eminent Virtues fancy'd him turn'd into a Star, which in the Morning, going before the Sun, was call'd Lacifer, and in the Evening, following it, Hesperus (r). The last Brother was Atlas; For his great Skill in Aftrology his Daughters were call'd by the Names of the Stars Pleiades, and Hyades. Some ascribe the first finding out the Course of the Moon to him; he was a Man of prodigious Strength, and upon these Accounts in all probability he was feign'd to bear the Heavens upon his Shoulders.

The most remarkable Thing that falls next in our 2448. way is the Building of Athens. The Honour of having laid the first Foundation of this famous City and Kingdom, is generally ascrib'd to Cecrops, an Ægyptian, who led down a Colony of the Saita, who liv'd upon Saiticum one of the Mouths of Nile, into Attica (s). The Grecians feign him to have been of a double Nature, partly Serpent, and partly Man; and the Explication some give of this Fiction favours too much of the Grecian Vanity, viz. that after his coming into Greece he shook off that Bar-

⁽r) Natalis Comes, 1. 4. c. 7. (s) Diod. Sic. Bibliothec. Hift. l.1.

barism he brought with him from Agypt, and became Civil. Cecrops, having marry'd the Daughter of Acteus King of Attica, in right of his Wife built the City Athens; and being in doubt by what Name he should call it, a Story goes that an Olivetree, and a Fountain of Water appear'd. Having consulted the Oracle about the Meaning of it, he was answer'd, that the Olive signify'd Minerva, and the Water Neptune, and that the City was to be nam'd from one of these two Deities. The Men and Women being affembled together to make the Choice, the former declar'd for Neptune, but the latter being more numerous carry'd the Name for Minerva, and it was call'd after her, Asirn, at which Neptune was so incens'd, that he drown'd their Territories: The Men therefore to appeale the Anger of the God inflicted this Punishment upon the Women,. that thence forward they should have no Voice in publick Matters, that no Child should bear the Mother's Name; and that they should not be call'd Athenaa but Attica.

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Of the Five Cities above-mention'd Corinth was A. M. built last. It was most anciently call'd Ephyra from 2490. the Nymph of that Name, Daughter of Oceanus and Tethys; and was built by Sisyphus, whose Posterity reign'd here above 400 Years. The Poets seign him to have been condemn'd in Hell to the Punishment of rolling a great Stone up a Hill, which as soon as he had roll'd to the Top, tumbled down again, to create him the same endless Labour, inslicted on him for having discover'd Jupiter's lying with Legina, Daughter to Asopus King of Baotia.

About this time fell out the Second Flood under 2496. Deucalion the Son of Prometheus, and King of Pthia, which over-run the greatest Part of Greece, and destroy'd all the Inhabitants, except those who made their Escape to the high Mountains in Thessay. Deucalion and his Wise Pyrrha being carry'd about the Waters in an Ark, Nine Days and Nights, at

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length rested upon the Mountain Parnassus, where each of them by throwing Stones over their Heads, restor'd their own Sex, to re-people the drowned World (t). This samous Deluge was follow'd by another Event no less surprizing, that remarkable Constagration which happen'd in many Parts of the World, in Athiopia, Istria a Country in Italy, about Cuma, and the Mountain Vesuvius; occasion'd, as the Poets sing, by Phaeton's driving his Father

Phabus's Chariot (u).

Deucalion by his Wife Pyrrba left Two Sons, Hellen and Amphictyon; Hellen succeeded his Father in the Kingdom; this was the Man from whom the Grecians, before call'd reasoi, deriv'd the Name of Hellenes. By the Nymph Orseis he had three Sons, Xuthus, Lolus and Dorus. Lolus fucceeded Hellen in the Kingdom of Theffaly, and from him the Loles receiv'd their Name. Dorus planted a Colony in Hestiagtis, under the Mountains Osla and Olympus, and afterwards, as has been hinted above, went with Part of his People into Peloponnefus. Xuthus, having defrauded his other Brothers, of Part of their Father's Treasure, was banish'd The//aly, and came to Athens, Amphictyon, Deucalion's other Son, going to Athens, marry'd Cranaus the King's Daughter, and afterwards expell'd him the Kingdom; but it was not long e're he met with the just Reward of his base Ingratitude, for after a Reign of Ten, or according to Apollodorus Twelve Years, he was himself depos'd by Ericthonius (w).

A. M. This suddain Revolution at Athens was not many 2530 Years after succeeded by another as remarkable at Argos, in which Danaus obtained that Kingdom. He had been about Ten Years before expelled Egypt, for rejecting his Brother Egyptus's Propolals of Marriage between his 50 Daughters, and the other's Sons of the same Number, on pretence

⁽t) Apollodor. l. i. c. 7. (u) Ovid. Metamorph. l. 2. (w) Apollodor. l. 3. c. 13.

that he had been forewarn'd by the Oracle, not to give his Daughters in Marriage, and that if he did, he should be killed by one of his Sons-in-law. Having lost this Kingdom, he came into Greece, and made his Claim to the Crown of Argos, as being descended from Epaphus, the Son of Io, Daughter to Inachus. Gelanor was now in Possession of the Kingdom, but upon the Arrival of this new Pretender, both Titles were laid before the People. Whilst they were upon a second Debate, a Wolf came and killed a Bull, Master of the Herd, under the very Walls of the City; this was look'd upon as a very fatal Omen to the present Possessor, every one thinking he was meant by the Bull, and Danaus, being a Stranger, by the Wolf; infomuch that the latter was immediately declared King (x). Egyptus now thought himself not secure upon his Throne, being afraid that Danaus, by marrying his Daughters to other Princes, would contract fuch a numerous Alliance, as might tempt him to recover the Kingdom of Ægypt. His Sons therefore with a powerful Army besieging their Uncle in his new Dominions, and reducing him to the last Extremity, did at length obtain their fatal Suit, and marry'd his Daughters, but were all of them stabb'd the first Night by their own Brides, at the Command of their Uncle, and Father-in-law, except Lynceus, whom Hypermnestra privately conveyed to Lyrcea, a Town not far distant from Argos. For this pious Act of Disobedience, her Father brought her to Judgment, and would have condemned her to Death, but she being acquitted by the more equitable Sentence of the Argivi, he was foon after reconcil'd both to her, and his Son Lynceus, whom he appointed his Successor. As for the other Daughters, they were so infamous for their unnatural Murder, that the Poets feign them to have been condemn'd in Hell to the Eternal Punishment of pouring Water

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⁽x) Pausanias in Corinthiacis.

through a Barrel with innumerable Holes, and never to be fill'd: which some interpret of their being forc'd to dig Wells, and supplying with Water a Castle which Danaus had built at Argos; the Situation of which City, as it is described by Strabo, makes it very probable that it wanted the Convenience of the Convenie

nience of that Element (y).

About these times fell out the famous Rape of A. M. Europa, Daughter to Agenor King of Sidon, or according to others of Tyre, whom Jupiter (as the Fable goes) disguised in the Shape of a Bull, carry'd over the Sea upon his Back into Crete. On her he begat Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon; after which, Asterius King of the Island marry'd her, and having no Children of his own, adopted Jupiter's Sons, and made them his Successors (2). Herodotus's Account of this Matter is, that some of the Grecians being at Tyre, seized upon Europa, the King's Daughter by way of Reprifal for Io, whom the Asiaticks had stoln from Greece some Ages before (a). And some are of Opinion, that the Ship in which they fail'd having a Bull painted in the Deck, gave Occasion to the Fable of her being carry'd on a Bull's Back. Agenor being in great Concern for the Loss of his only Daughter, fent his Three Sons, Cadmus, Phanix, and Cilix in quest of their Sister, charging them never to return Home without her. Cadmus fail'd first to the Island Callifthe, where he left a Colony; and from thence to the Island Tha-Jus, so called from one of his Companions of that Name, and Head of another Colony which he planted At length he arriv'd in Greece, where being past all Hopes of finding his Sister, at the Command of the Oracle he founded, or rebuilt the City Thebes in Baotia, and laid a new Foundation of the Castle. which ever after retained the Name of Cadmea. The Hyantes and Aones were then in Possession of this

⁽y) Strabo l. 8. p. 371. (z) Diodor. Sic. Bibliothec. Hift. l. 4.

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Country; the former being beaten by his Forces. the Night following fled to Phocis, but the Aones, upon their Submission, were suffer'd to continue, and incorporate themselves with the Phanicians (b). After this Cadmus marrying Harmonia, the Daughter of Mars and Venus, the Gods are faid to have come down into Cadmea to the Wedding: he had by her One Son, Polydorus, and Four Daughters, Semele, Ino, Autonoe, and Agave: On Semele, Jupiter begat Diony us or Bacchus, who found out the Use of Wine, and with an Army of Men and Women travel'd into India, the most extream Part of the then known World, to reduce the Barbarians to Civility. After an Expedition of Three Years he return'd, and was the first that rode in Triumph on an Elephant (c). The reason that Cadmus was seign'd to have been his Grandfather, was because the extravagant Rites of Bacchus were first brought into Greece by him (d), though Bacchus is suppos'd to have liv'd many Ages before; Nimrod, as is generally agreed amongst Learned Men, being represented under the Fable of that God. Ino was marry'd to Athamas the Son of Aolus and Grandson to Hellen; Autonoe to Aristaus, by whom she had Actaon, who was devour'd by his own Dogs (e); Agave to Echion, to whom the bore Pentheus. Cadmus being called to the Assistance of the Encheleae, who were at War with the Illyrians, and had been commanded by the Oracle to chuse him their General, left Thebes to his Son Polydorus, and having subdued the Illyrians, had another Son Illyrius, from whom that People took the Name of Illyrians. The Poets feign Cadmus and his Wife to have been chang'd into Snakes, after they went into Illyricum, which some explain of their having forgot Civility, and being turn'd Barbarous. The Account his Countrymen, the Sidonians, give of Cadmus is quite different from

⁽b) Pausanias in Bæoticis. (c) Diodor. Sic. Bibliothec. Hift. 1. 4° (d) Bochart, Canaan. 1. 1. c. 18. (c) Apollodor. 1. 3. c. 4.

the former; They fay he was but the King's Cook, and that he run away with Harmonia a Minstrel, who attended at the Court (f). His time falling in with Joshua, the Learned Bochartus, who is very large in explaining the ridiculous Fables of the Grecians concerning him, has from thence conjectur'd that he brought a Colony of the Canaanites into Greece, who were driven out of their own Country by the Children of Ifrael; that he was of the Family of the Cadmonites mention'd by Moses, Gen. XV. 19. who were the fame with the Hivites, and were call'd Cadmonim, which fignifies Orientals, because they posses'd Mount Hermon, the most Eastern Part of Canaan; that from Mount Hermon his Wife took the Name of Harmonia or Hermione; and that an Hivite in the Syriack Language fignifying a Serpent gave Birth to the Fable of him and his Wife being chang'd into Serpents (g). This Account seems more credible, because we find Thebez a City in the Land of Canaan, Judges IX, 50, by Josephus wrote in the Plural Number Thebe (h), from whence perhaps the City, which he built in Baotia was called by the fame Name.

A. M. Near this time happen'd the Quarrel between the 2620. Inhabitants of Eleusis, and Erectheus King of Athens; In this War Ion King Erectheus's Grandson by his Daughter Creusa, whom he had marry'd to Xuthus, who upon his being banish'd Thessaly had fled to Athens, was made General of the Athenian Army. When they came to an Engagement, Erectheus after he had kill'd Immaradus, Son to Eumolpus Commander of the Eleusinian Forces, was himself slain, having reign'd 50 Years. He was esteem'd one of the most powerful Princes of his time; and his Subjects, the Athenians, who till his Reign were call'd Cecropidæ from Cecrops their Founder, did from him receive the Name of Erecthidæ. After

⁽f) Athenau: l. 14. c. 22. (g) Bochart, Cansan, l. 1. c. 19. (h) Josephus Antiq Judaic. l. 5. c. 9.

the Death of Erectheus, his Three Sons, Cecrops, Metion, and Pandorus, contending about the Succession, refer'd the Matter to Xuthus; he determining the Right in Favour of Cecrops, the Eldest, the Two Younger Brothers not contented with this Decision, forc'd him to leave Athens, and fly to Ægialea, where he died. His Son Achaus, with Forces which he rais'd from Athens and Agialea, went into Theslaly, and recovered his Grandfather Hellen's Kingdom; but afterwards for Manslaughter he fled into Laconia, where his Posterity continued till they were expell'd by the Dores and Heraclida. Ion grew very great at Athens, and being ready to make War upon Selinus King of Ægialea, the King gave him his only Daughter Helice, and adopted him for his Successor: After the Death of his Father, Selinus, Ion being in Possession of the Kingdom, built a City call'd after his Wife's Name Helice, and named the whole Nation from himself Iones (i). To Cecrops, the Second, who all this while reign'd at Athens, is generally ascrib'd the first Gathering the People into Twelve Towns, who before his time liv'd in little Cottages, stragling and dispers'd without any Order or regular Distance.

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In this Age flourish'd Tantalus King of Lydia, or according to Eusebius of Phrygia (k), who for having feasted the Gods with his own Son Pelops whom Jupiter afterwards restor'd to Life, and for revealing their Secrets, was, as the Poets seign, condemn'd to Hell, where he stood up to the Chin in Water with richest Fruits always at his Mouth, which serv'd only to encrease the Torment of his Hunger and Thirst, both Fruit and Water slying from his Lips, if he attempted to taste. His Daughter was Niobe, of whom the Fable goes, that for her having boasted her self more fruitful than Latona, all her Children were shot by Apollo and

⁽i) Pausanias in Achaicis. (k) Euseb. Chronic.

Diana (1), and Niobe her self turn'd into a Stone (m). In Tantalus's time flourish'd Pratus and Acrisius, the Sons of Abas, King of Argos, by Ocalea the Daughter of Mantineus; these Two Brothers were Twins, and are faid to have struggled in their Mother's Womb; which feems to be a fort of preludium to that Battle, which as foon as they were grown up, was afterwards fought for the Kingdom; and in which they Two are reported to have first made use of Targets (n). Prætus first obtain'd the Kingdom, and held it 17 Years; till his Brother Acrisius forc'd him to fly to Jobates King of Lycia, whose Daughter he had marry'd, by Homer call'd Antaa, but by the Writers of Tragedy, Sthenobaa. He foon after return'd from hence with his Father-in-law Jobates, and having poffes'd himself of Tiryns obtain'd a Treaty by which the Kingdom was divided between them. Prætus for his Share had Tiryns, Heræus, Midea, and the maritime Parts; Acrisius remain'd at Argos (o). After this Prætus by his Wife Sthenoba had Three Daughters, who were taken with the Fury of Bacchus, which had feiz'd all the Women of the Country; but were at length cured by Melampus, famous for his Skill in Phyfick and Soothfaying, who for his Reward marry'd one of the King's Daughters, and with her obtain'd a Third Part of the Kingdom; another Share was given to Melampus's Brother Bias, who marry'd another of the Daughters: Not long after which Prætus had a Son call'd Megapenthes. Acrifius, by his Wife Eurydice, begat a Daughter named Danae, whom he kept under close Confinement in a Brazen Tower, fetting a strict Guard over her, to prevent any Man's coming near her, for he had been told by the Oracle that he should have a Grandson by her who would kill him. Notwithstanding all this Caution,

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⁽¹⁾ Diodor. Sic. Bibliothec. Hift. l. 4. (m) Apollodor. l. 3. c. 5. Ovid. Metamorph. l. 6. v. 310. (n) Pausanias in Argolicis. Apollod. l. 2. c. 2. (o) Pausanias ut prius.

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Jupiter, as the Fable tells, melting himself into a Shower of Gold, funk through the Tiles, and enjoy'd her; or, as it is otherwise related, her Uncle Prætus, having corrupted her Keepers, lay with her and begat Perseus (p). Danae, as soon as she was deliver'd, with her Child was put into a Chest, and thrown into the Sea; the Chest floating upon the Waves, was carry'd to the Island Seriphus, where Dictys Brother to Polydectes King of the Place, brought up the Boy. After some time Polydectes fell in love with Danae, and would have ravish'd her, had not Perseus, who was then grown up, prevented him. The King, to be reveng'd on him, fent him into Africa to fetch the Gorgon Medufa's Head, in Hopes that he would perish in the Attempt, and himself by that means obtain his Defires; but Perseus, beyond his Expectation, return'd with Success. The Account Pausanias gives of this Expedition feems to have some Resemblance of Truth; according to him, Medusa was Daughter to Phorcus, and succeeded him in his Kingdom which lay upon the Lake Tritonis; she was a great Huntress, and us'd to fight with the Africans her Subjects, till Perseus coming against her with choice Forces out of Peloponnesus, took her in the Night and cut off her Head, which he carry'd into Greece to be admir'd for its incomparable Beauty (9).

In this Expedition he marry'd Andromeda, Daughter to Cepheus King of Joppe, a maritime Town of Phænicia, having first rescu'd her from Phænix, who had stoln her away; the Ship in which Phænix sail'd being call'd the Whale, gave Occasion to the Fable of Perseus's having deliver'd her from being devour'd by a Whale (r). From hence Perseus return'd to Seriphus, and reveng'd himself upon Polydectes for the Injuries offer'd to his Mother, and

⁽p) Apollodor. l. 2. c. 4. (q) Pansanias in Argolicis. (r) Conon Narrat. 40.

Dictys, whom he found at the Altar, whither they had been forc'd to fly for Sanctuary from the Violence of Polydectes; and, as the Fable fays, turn'd him and all his Affistants into Stones, by shewing them the Gorgon's Head. Perseus having set Dictys upon the Throne, with his Mother Danae, and Andromeda went for Argos with a Design to see his Grandfather; but Acrifius, who knew him to be alive, and had heard the Fame of his glorious Atchievements was retir'd from thence to Lariffa, situated upon the River Peneus in Pelasgia. He had not been there long e're Teutamias King of the City celebrated Funeral Games in Honour of his deceas'd Father; hither, amongst the other active Youth of Greece came Perseus, and by an unlucky Cast of the Discus, which fell upon his old Grandfather's Foot, who fate a Spectator ignorant of his being there, unwillingly fulfill'd the Oracle upon him (s), after he had reign'd at Argos One and Thirty Years (t). Perseus, after the unfortunate Murther of his Grandfather, being asham'd to go to Argos, his hereditary Kingdom, exchang'd it for Tiryns with his Conzen Megapenthes (u), and built the City Mycena, where he reign'd 58 Years; thus was the Kingdom of Argos translated to Mycenæ, after it had stood from its Foundation by Inachus about 544 Years (w).

Whilst Prætus reign'd at Argos, Bellerophon, the Son of Glaucus, and Grandson to Sisyphus, Founder of Corinth, having committed Man-slaughter, sled from thence to Argos, where he was expiated by Prætus. Not long after he came to Argos, Sibenobæa the Queen was so charm'd with the Comliness of his Person, that she often tempted him to her Bed, which Bellerophon having Vertue enough to resuse, Sthenobæa accus'd him to the King of having attempted to ravishher. Prætus, to be reveng'd on him for this pretended Injury, sent him into Lycia, with

⁽s) Apollodor. l. 2. c. 4. Paufanias in Argolicis. (t) Euseb. Chronic. (u) Apollodor. & Pausanias ut supra. (w) Euseb. ibid.

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Letters to his Father-in-law Jobates, in which he defir'd him to make away with Bellerophon. Jobates therefore fent him against the Monster Chimera, which some explain of the Ship of Chimarrhus, a famous Pyrate amongst the Lycians, which had a Lyon, a Goat, and a Dragon painted in it (x). Bochartus thinks no more meant by it, than the Three Gods of the Solymi, whom Bellerophon afterwards subdued, painted in their Enligns in the Shape of those Creatures (y), like the Heads of the Monster, as it is described by Hesiod (z). Bellerophon in a Frigat which had a flying Horse painted in the Deck, which the Poets difguife under the Fable of his being mounted on the winged Horse Pegasus sprung from the Blood of Meduja, and lent him by the Gods in Compassion of his Innocence, beyond all Expectation, return'd victorious to Jobates. The next Expedition he was fent upon, was against the Solymi, and the last against the Amazons; in his return from Victory over these he was affaulted by a select Body of Lycians, laid in an Ambush for him by Jobates; every one of which he kill'd: All which extraordinary Exploits struck the King with such an Admiration of his great Courage, that he gave him his Daughter Philonoë, and declar'd him his Successor in the Kingdom (a). Upon this Change of Fortune he grew very infolent and prefumptuous, and afterwards falling into many Misfortunes gave Occasion to the Fiction of the Poets, that he attempted to fly up to Heaven upon the Horse Pegasus, and that he was thrown off his Back into the Valley of Cilicia, where he died blind.

About the later end of Acrisius's Reign, Pelops the Son of Tantalus, after he had made some unfuccessful Attempts upon the City Troy, and had been beaten from thence by Ilus then King of the Place, fled to Pisa in Thessaly, where he fell in love

⁽x) Plutarch, de Virtutibus mulierum. (y) Bochart, Canaan. l. 1. c. 6. (2) Hesiod, in Geograph, v. 321. (a) Apollodor, l. 2. c. 3. With

with Hippodamia Oenomaus the King's Daughter-Oenomaus having been forewarn'd by the Oracle, that he should die whenever his Daughter marry'd, Hippodamia was condemn'd to perpetual Virginity; for her Father, trusting to the Speed of his Horses, always propos'd this Condition to any one that made his Addresses, either to win a Race in a Coach, and with that his Daughter, or to die. Notwithstanding Thirteen of the finest Youth in Greece, had, by reason of the incredible Swiftness of Oenomaus's Horses, sacrific'd their Lives in hopes of obtaining her, Pelops accepted the Conditions, and by bribing Myrtilus, the King's Coachman, to loofen the Wheels of his Master's Chariot, got the Victory. Oenomaus was torn in pieces in the Race, or according to some Accounts, thinking the Oracle completed, kill'd himself out of mere Grief and Despair (.). Pelops, after his Death succeeding to the Kingdom of Pifa and Elis, became very powerful, and making an Expedition into the Peninsula, which from him afterwards receiv'd the Name of Peloponnesus, subdued many of the Nations which inhabited it (c). and reign'd over them 58 Years (d).

Not many Years after the Division of the Kingdom of Argos, Pandion, the Second of that Name, Son of Cecrops the Second, and Eighth King of Athens, with his Father Cecrops, was driven from Athens by the Sons of Metion his Uncle, and fled to Megara, where having marry'd Pelia Daughter to Pylas, King of the City, he succeeded his Father-in-law in that Kingdom. During his Reign at Megara he had Four Sons, Ageus, Nisus, Pallas, and Lycus, who after their Father's Death being grown up, expell'd the Metionidae, and divided the Kingdom of Athens into Four Parts; notwithstanding which Division, the Sovereign Power did in effect

remain in Ægeus (e).

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⁽b) Diodor, Sic. Bibliothec. Hift. l. 4. (c) Diodor, Sic. ibidem (d) Ensib. Chronic. (e) Pausanias in Atticis. Apollodor, l. 3. c. 14. About

About this time was born the Grecian Hercules, the Son of Amphitryon by his Wife Alcmena; a Story goes, that in the Absence of Amphitryon, Fupiter in his Shape lay with Alemena, and made the Night in which he got this Heroe, as long as Three, that his Strength might be the greater (f). He was first call'd Alcaus, from his Grandfather, but afterwards by his great Atchievements obtain'd the Name of Hercules. Diodorus and Eusebius mention Three of this Name, and the former ascribes all their Actions to the Youngest, or Son of Alemena. Servius speaks of Four, and Varro Fourty Four, but the most remarkable are the Six reckon'd by Tully: The First was begotten by the most Ancient Jupiter on Lysito, and contended with Apollo for the Tripos. The Second, an Agyptian, Son to Nile, invented the Phrygian Letters. The Third a Native of Crete, and one of the Idai Dactyli. The Fourth, Son of the Second Jupiter and Asteria, Sister to Latona; he was worship'd by the Tyrians, and had a Daughter call'd Carthapo. Belus the Indian was the Fifth, and then in the last place, comes Hercules the Son of Alcmena, by the Third Jupiter (g).

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His reputed Father Amphitryon was King of Tiryns, but having unawares kill'd Electryon his Uncle and Father-in-law, he was forc'd to fly from thence to Thebes, where Hercules being educated, flew Linus his Musick-Master, as he was teaching him with his Harp. His Father finding out his Temper, and for fear some such Accident should fall out again, sent him amongst the Herdsmen, where being scarce 18 Years old he slew a Lyon (b). For his extraordinary Strength and Courage he was taken notice of by Thespis or Thespius Prince of the Thespienses, who made him lye with his 50 Daughters, of whom he got as many Sons, who afterwards pass'd over into

⁽f) Diodor, Bibliotheo. Hift. l. 4. (g) M. T. Gicero de Natura Deorum, l. 3. (h) Apollodor. l. 2. c. 4.

the Island Sardinia with the Name of Thespiades (i). Not long after this he deliver'd Thebes from the Tyranny of Erginus King of the Minya, who exacted an annual Tribute of 100 Oxen of the Thebans; for which, Hercules kill'd him, burnt his Palace and laid his City even with the Ground, and was rewarded with Megara Daughter to Creon King of Thebes (k). When he was about Twenty Years old he fail'd with the Argonauta in that samous Expedition

fo much celebrated by the Poets.

The Captain in this renowned Enterprise was 74-2720. Son the Son of Ason, and the Fourth in Descent from Aolus, being born at Jolcus, which Pelias his Father's Brother, by the Mother's fide, had injuriously usurp'd and detain'd from Ajon. Pehas had been forewarn'd by the Oracle to beware of him that had but One Shoe: Afterwards facrificing to Neptune, he call'd Jason to him, who coming in haste, loft One Shoe in paffing over a Rivulet; upon which Pelias thinking the Oracle fullfill'd in him, ask'd him what Course he would take with one whom the Oracle advis'd him to beware of? to which Question when Jason had briefly answer'd, that he would fend him to Colchos to fetch the Golden Fleece, Pelias immediately commanded him to undertake that Service (1). This was the Occasion of this celebrated Expedition, to which most of the young and active Spirits of Greece, fir'd with the Glory of the Enterprise, gave in their Names under Jason the chief Commander. The Ship in which they fail'd was built by one Argus, and from him was call'd Argo, and from hence all of them Argonauta. The first Place they arriv'd at was the Island Lemnos, where the Women had kill'd all the Males, with a Design to lead an Amazonian Life, but nevertheless took the Argonautæ to their Beds. From thence they fail'd to a People call'd Doliones, over whom reign'd one Cyzicus, who receiv'd them with great

⁽i) Diod. Sic. Bib. Hift. 1.4. (k) Idem ut prius. (1) Apollod.l.1. c. 9. Kind-

Kindness, but loosing from thence by Night, and being forc'd back by Diffress of Weather upon the fame Coasts, the Doliones, taking them for the Pelagi, with whom they were then engag'd in a War, gave them Battle, in which the Argonauta kill'd most of the Doliones, and amongst the rest their King Cyzicus: but the Day discovering their Mistake, the Argonautæ griev'd at his Death, interr'd him very honourably (m). The next Place they arriv'd at was Mysia; Hercules, not being us'd to rowe broke his Oar; whilft he was in the Woods providing himself another, Hylas, his beloved Boy as he was drinking at a Fountain, was stoln by the Nymphs. The Boy crying out, Polyphemus the Son of Elatus, who had marry'd Laonome Hercules's Sifter, ran out to rescue him, and meeting with Hercules, they both went in great Perplexity to feek him, and were left behind by the Argonautæ. After which Polyphemus built a Town in Mysia call'd Cios, which he made the chief Seat of his Kingdom; but Hercules return'd to Argos, or according to others follow'd his Companions to Colchos on Foot (n).

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then peopled by the Bebryces the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom Amycus the Son of Neptune at that time reign'd. He being a Man of prodigious Strength, compell'd all Strangers to fight with him at Whorlbats, at which Sport he had kill'd very many, but was himfelf flain by Pollux; the Bebryces in Revenge of his Death fell upon Pollux, but his Companions rescued him, with great Slaughter of the Enemy. From hence they sail'd to Salmydessus, a Town in Thrace, where Phineus, a celebrated blind Sooth-sayer dwelt, who was very much molested by the Harpys, a kind of Birds which had a Woman's Face, with foul long Claws, very nasty Creatures,

⁽m) Apollon. Rhod. Argonautic, l.1. v. 1060. (n) Theocrit. Id. 13.

which flying in as foon as Phineus's Table was spread, either devour'd, or carry'd away the greatest part of his Victuals, and left fuch an ungrateful Smell upon the rest, that it could not be eaten. To this Phineus the Argonaute apply'd themselves for his Direction, and Opinion concerning the Success of their Voyage, which he promis'd to give them, upon Condition, they would deliver him from these constant unmannerly Guests. Accordingly, no sooner was Meat fet upon the Table then in came the Harpys. and were immediately purfued by Zethes and Calais the winged Sons of Boreas, with their naked Swords through the Air; some say that both the Harpys, and the young Men dy'd in the Fursuit, but Apollonius fays that Iris, interpoling in behalf of the Harpys, and promifing that they should do no more harm to Phineus, they were upon this Condition dismis'd, and the Youths return'd to the Ship (0). For this good Office Phineus directed them in their way, and advertised them of the dangerous Rocks, call'd Symplegades, which by Force of Winds running together thut up the Passage; wherefore he advis'd them to fend out a Pigeon before them, and if that pass'd through safe to venture, otherwise by no means to attempt it. The Pigeon having escap'd only with the Loss of some part of her Tail, upon the next opening of the Rocks, they row'd with main Force, and made their Passage through, only the hinder parts of the Ship were bruis'd; from thence forward the Symplegades have stood still, as the Story tells, the Gods having decreed, that after the Passage of a Ship they should be for ever fixt. The Argonauta having escap'd the Danger of the Rocks, arriv'd at the Miriandyni, a People inhabiting about the Mouth of the River Parthenius, where they were honography receiv'd by Lycus King of the Country. Here Idmon a Soothsayer of their

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⁽⁰⁾ Apollon. Argonautic, l. 2. v. 295.

Company was kill'd by a wild Boar; Typhis Pilot of the Ship died, and was succeeded by Anceus. Having pass'd the River Thermodon, and Mount Caucasus, they came to the River Phasis which runs through the Land of Colchis, and ariving safe in the Harbour, Jason went to Aetes King of the City, and acquainted him with Pelias's Commands, and the Cause of his Coming, and demanded the Golden Fleece, which Aetes promis'd to deliver, if he alone, by his own single Strength, would yoke together Two Bulls with Brazen Hoofs, sierce and terrible, breathing out Fire, presented to him by Vulcan, and plowing the Ground with them, would sow Dragons Teeth, which Minerva had given him, being the Remainder of those which Cadmus had

fown at Thebes (p).

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Whilst Jason was in great Perplexity how he should accomplish this Task, Medea the King's Daughter, was so enamour'd with him, that, being excellently well Skill'd in Magick, she promis'd him her Affistance, if he would swear to marry her, which Jason agreed to. Whereupon she gave him a Medicine, with which he anointed his Body and his Armour, to preserve him from the Violence of the Bulls; and she farther told him, that from the Teeth which he fow'd should rife arm'd Men, who would all immediately fall upon him, unless he prevented them by throwing Stones amongst them, as foon as they came up, which would raife fuch a Diffention amongst them, that he might easily cut them off. All things meeting with the promis'd Success, Jason once more demanded the Fleece, but Hetes, instead of delivering it, contrived how to destroy the Argonaute, and burn their Ship: Medea perceiving this, went to Jason, and by Night brought him to the Fleece, which hung upon an Oak in Mars's Grove, where it was guarded by a Harme

they came between Sulla ande St. I trobollogh (q)

Dragon, which never flept; but he by Medea's Magick being cast into a deep Sleep, Jason obtain'd the Fleece, and with his Companions fail'd off, carrying Medea and her Brother Absyrtus along with them.

Æetes having discover'd the secret Practices of his Daughter, immediately pursued them; Medea as foon as the perceiv'd her Father making towards them, cut her Brother Absyrtus in pieces, and scatter'd the mangled parts of his Body, thereby to move her old Father's Compassion, and stop his farther Pursuit. Letes seeing the desperate Effects of his Daughter's Cruelty, gather'd up what he could of the Remains of his Son, and buried him in a place from the scatter'd parts call'd Tomi. After his Re. turn Home, he fent out many of his Subjects in quest of the Argonauta, threatning them that if they return'd without Medea, they should suffer in her stead; in the mean while the Argonautæ were driven about the Seas, and had pass'd the River Eridanus, when Jupiter being offended at the Murther of Absyrtus vexed them with Storms and Tempests, which threw them upon unknown Coalts. When they were come to the Islands Absyrtides (that nothing incredible may be wanting to the Fable) the Ship Argos spake to them, and told them, that Jupiter would not be appeas'd, till they came to Aufonia, and were cleans'd by Circe from the Murther of Absyrtus. Upon which failing between the Coasts of Libya and Gallia, and passing through the Sea of Sardinia, and along the Coast of Heturia, they came to the Isle of Leu, where Circe liv'd. After they were cleans'd by her, they fail'd by the Coast of the Siners, from whose alluring Musick they were preferred by the more charming Voice of Orpheus, who on the other lide fing fo well, that Butes alone fwam out to them, whom Venus carry'd fale to Lilybaum in Sicily. Having past the Sirens, they came between Scylla and Charybdis, and the ftrag-Dragon

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Straggling Rocks which feem'd to cast out Flame and Smoke: but by the Appointment of Juno, they were rescu'd from this Danger by Thetis and the Nereides. From hence they coasted to that part of Sicily, where were the Oxen of the Sun, and touch'd at Corcyra the Island of the Phanes, where Akinous then reign'd. In the mean time, the Men of Colchos, that had been sent by Æetes in quest of the Argonauta, hearing no News of them, till they arriv'd at Corcyra, came and demanded Medea of Akinous, who return'd them this Answer, that if she were not Jason's Wife, they should have her, but if she were already marry'd, he would not take her from him. Arete, Alcinous's Wife, hearing this marry'd them; whereupon the Men of Colchos, not daring to return Home, stay'd with the Pheaces, from whence the Argonautæ departed and came to Crete. Minos was at this time King of the Island, who had a Man of Brass call'd Talus, the Present of Vulcan, who as the Fable fays, had One Vein from the Neck to the Heel, the End of which was clos'd up with a Brazen Nail; his Cultom was to run Three Times a Day, round the Island to defend it. When he saw the Ship Argo pass by, he threw Stones at it; but Medea by her Magick destroy'd him. Some say that she intoxicated him with Potions magically prepar'd; others, that promifing to make him immortal, the drew out the Nail that stopt his Vein, by which means all his Blood run out; others fay, that he was thot with an Arrow in the Heel by Pean, and that he dy'd of the Wound. From hence the Argonauta fail'd to Egina, where they were forc'd to fight for fresh Water. From Agina sailing by Eubea and Locris, they arriv'd at Jokes, having spent Four whole Months in this Expedition (9).

Suidas thinks that by the Golden Fleece was meant a Book of Parchment, which is made of Sheep-skin,

⁽⁹⁾ Apollodor, ibidera.

and call'd Golden, because it taught how other Metals might be chang'd into Gold. Some would have the whole Story to be a moral Allegory, and would understand by Jason, Wisdom and Moderation, which conquers all Dangers. And lastly others believe there was at least some Foundation of this Story, and that Jason went with a Defign to rob Colchos. For not far from Caucafus there are certain fleep falling Torrents, which wash down many Grains of Gold, as in many other parts of the World, and the People inhabiting there use to set Fleeces of Wool in those Descents of Water, in which the Grains of Gold remain, and the Water passes through. That the many Rocks, Straits, Sands, and Currents in the Passage between Greece and the Bottom of Pontus, are poetically converted into those fiery Bulls, the arm'd Men rifing out of the Ground, the Dragon cast afleep, and the like: And the Man of Brais, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, were other hazardous Adventures which they fell into in the Mediterranean Sea, colour'd over by Orpheus with Poetical Allusions; all which, except the Man of Brass, Homer afterwards us'd in the Description of Uly/es's Travels in the same Seas.

Pelias; he not expecting the Return of the Argonaute, had some time before thought of taking off

Æson Jason's Father, but he had posson'd himself
by drinking Bull's Blood, and his Wife for Grief
hang'd her self. Medea to be reveng'd on Pelias for
the Injuries done to her Husband Jason, perswaded
his Daughters to boil their old Father, by pretending
that she by her Medicines would restore him to Life,
in the Strength and Vigour of Youth. After this
Acastus having bury'd his Father Pelias, expell'd
both her and her Husband; who from Joscus sted to
Corinth, where they liv'd very happily about Ten
Years, when Creon King of that City giving Jason

his Daughter Glauce, Medea was cast off, and commanded to quit the City. This ungrateful piece of Neglect so enrag'd Medea, that she, by magical Preparations, set the King's Palace on fire, in which Creon and his Daughter Glauce were consum'd, murder'd all the Children she had by Jason, and made

her Escape to Athens (r).

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About the time of this Expedition Diodorus places Hercules's War against Troy (s). Apollodorus mentions it between his Ninth and Tenth Labour under Eurystheus, and makes it not finisht till after his Servitude under Omphale Queen of the Mæones or Lydians (t). The Occasion of it was this. Neptune and Apollo having bargain'd with Laomedon to build the City Troy, he refus'd to perform the Agreement, and pay their Wages, or, according to other Accounts, having built the City with Money taken out of the Temples of Neptune and Apollo, made no Restitution. Apollo in Revenge sent a Plague, and Neptune, together with a dreadful Inundation, a Whale to devour the Inhabitants; the Oracle being consulted, answer'd, that the Anger of the Gods could not be appeas'd, till the Whale had devour'd one of their Children, chosen by Lot, which fell upon the King's own Daughter Hesione. Whilst she lay expos'd upon a Rock, Hercules, being One of the Argonauta who were forc'd by Diltress of Weather upon those Coasts broke her Chains, and going to her Father, undertook to kill the Whale, and Laomedon for his Reward promis'd him his Horses. Hercules having kill'd the Whale, trusted Laomedon with his Reward till his Return from Colchis; then he fent his Brother Iphicles and Telamon to demand the Horses, instead of delivering which, Laomedon imprison'd the Messengers, and design'd the Destruction of the whole Company.

⁽r) Euripides in Medea. Apollodor. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. Bibliothec. Hift. l. 4. (s) Diodor. Sic. l. 4. (t) Apollodor. l. 2. c. 4. & 6.

their Escape.

Hercules not long after this, to be reveng'd on Laomedon, with a Squadron of Eighteen, or according to Homer, of Six Ships (u), came, and took Troy, kill'd Laomedon, and for his Integrity plac'd his Son Priamus upon the Throne. He sione he bestow'd upon Telamon, as an Acknowledgment of his great Bravery in having made the First Breach in

the Walls, and enter'd the City (w).

After the Return of the Argonauta, Hercules took an Oath of them mutually to affilt each other, and to chuse some place where they might meet and celebrate Games in Honour of Jupiter Olympius. This Matter being left to his Care and Management, he pitch'd upon the Plains of Elis, lying upon the River Alpheus, where he appointed Exercises to be perform'd on Foot and Horseback, with Rewards to the Victors in each, and sent abroad to give notice of it to the several Cities, which procur'd him an universal Esteem and Reputation throughout Greece.

Eurystheus, who about this time succeeded his Father Sthenelus in the Kingdom of Mycene, had always entertain'd very jealous Apprehensions of Hercules, because he was of the Family of Perseus, and nearly related to the Crown, and had engag'd him in several hazardous Attempts in Hopes to have taken him out of the way, which Hercules always persorming with Glory and Success, render'd his own personal Vertues more remarkable, and Eurystheus still more uneasy. Hercules having sometime before consulted the Oracle at Delphi, was acquainted that it was the Pleasure of the Gods, that

^{(11) &#}x27;Ihad. E. v. 641. (W) Diodor. Sic. ibid. Apollodor.

he should serve Eurystheus Twelve Years, and after he had finish'd as many Labours at his Appointment, be made Immortal. This Answer put him into a very deep Fit of Melancholy, which in time drove him to Madness; and in the height of his Distemper he kill'd the Children he had by Megera, and put her away. At length having recover'd his Understanding, he resolv'd to submit himself, and return to Eurystheus, who, as some say, impos'd the Twelve following Labours upon him, to expiate the Murder of his Children; and there are not wanting those who commend Eurystheus for employing the

Strength of Hercules to so good a purpose.

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His First Task was to kill a Lyon in Nemea, a Wood of Achaia, whom no Sword, or any other Weapon could pierce; Hercules therefore laying hold of his Throat strangled him, and pull'd off his Skin, which he afterwards wore in Memory of his Victory. The Second was to kill the Monster Hydra, which had 100 Heads like Snakes, whereof One being cut off, Two immediately sprung up in its place. The Third was to bring home alive the Erymanthian Boar, at the Sight of which Beast upon his Shoulders, Eurystheus was so frighted, that he ran for Fear into a Brazen Hogshead; and in this Expedition he also overcame the Centaurs. The Fourth was to catch an Hart of wonderful Swiftness with Golden Horns. The Fifth was the Cleanfing Augeas's Stable in One Day, which he did by turning the River Alpheus into it. The Sixth was to chase away the Birds upon the Lake Symphalis. The Seventh, to fetch a wild Bull out of Crete, which Pasiphae is said to have faln in love with; and between this and the next Labour he help'd the Gods against the Gyants, and reconcil'd Jupiter to Prometheus, whom he loos'd from Mount Caucasus. The Eighth was to fetch the Mares of Diomedes out of Thrace, which had Brazen Mangers, were ty'd with Iron Chains, and liv'd upon the Flesh of StrangStrangers that pass'd that way. Wherefore Hercules first gave them their own Master's Flesh, and then brought them to Eurystheus, who dedicated them to Juno, and their Breed is faid to have continued to the Time of Alexander the Great. After this Labour Diodorus makes him to have fail'd with the Argonauta. The Ninth was to fetch the Girdle of the Queen of the Amazons. The Tenth was to fetch the Oxen of Geryon out of Iberia or Spain, in the most extreme parts of which he erected his Pillars, as at the utmost Limits of the then known World.

Hercules is farther faid in this Journey to have kill'd Ant aus, and after that to have gone down into Ægypt, where he slew the cruel Tyrant Busiris. Within Eight Years and One Month he finisht all these Labours. After his Return he was enjoyn'd to fetch Cerberus out of Hell, which having accomplish'd, the Twelfth was to fetch the Golden Hefperian Apples, kept by a terrible Dragon, which some interpret to be Herds of Cattle defended by fome valiant Man, he brought out of Africa to Eu-

rystheus (x).

Atter he had ferv'd Eurystbeus Twelve Years he return'd to Thebes, where he gave Megara, whom he had put away, to Jolans his Brother Iphicles's Son; himself having no legitimate Issue, went to Occhalia, where he won Tole Eurytus the King's Daughter at Shooting, an Exercise which her Father always propos'd to all that came against him and his Sons. Eurytus being warn'd by Megara's Misfortunes, refus'd to deliver her. Hercules in Revenge of this Affront, drove away his Horses, and kill'd his Eldest Son Iphitus, whom he fent to feek them; for carrying him up into a Tower, on pretence that he might try if he could fee his Father's Horses feeding thereabouts, he threw him down headlong. For this he was ftruck

⁽x) Apollodor, 1, 2, c, 4. Diodor, Sic, 1, 4, mind) nort this

with a Disease, and after he had us'd several Means to be expiated, and found no Remedy, the Oracle told him the only way to be cur'd was to be fold, and the Price to be given to Iphitus's Children. Violence of his Distemper forcing him into Asia, he was bought by Omphale Queen of the Maones, who, by the Death of her Husband Tmolus, was then in Possession of the Kingdom. Hercules being now perfectly recover'd did his Queen very fignal Service, kill'd many of the Cercopes, most notorious Robbers in those parts, and brought some of them alive to her. After this Omphale stood in such Admiration of his Courage, that as foon as she knew who he was, she not only gave him his Liberty, but admitted him to her Bed, and bore him a Son call'd Lamon, or according to Apollodorus, Agelaus (y). Hercules had already had a Son nam'd Cleolaus, by One of his Fellow-slaves; after he had ferv'd Omphalus Three Years, he return'd into Peloponnesus (z).

After his Return thither, with an Army confifting of Arcadians, and others who offer'd themselves as Volunteers out of many Cities, he made War upon Augeas King of Elis; but he return'd from thence after a light Skirmish, without any Effect. In this Expedition he was entertain'd by Olenus, and kill'd the Centaur Eurytion, who offer'd Violence to Olenus's Daughter. After his Return to Tiryns, Eurystheus pretending that he affected the Government, banish'd him with his Mother Alemena, Iphicles, and Jolaus. From thence he fled to Pheneus in Arcadia, not long after which Eurytus, Augeas's Son, marching in folemn Procession to the Isthmus, Hercules making a sudden Irruption upon him near Cleonæ, kill'd him, and going directly to Elis, slew Augeas also, took the City, and recalling Phyleus, who had been banish'd by his Father, only for determining in Favour of Hercules, in a Quarrel

⁽y) Apollodor, ibid. c. 7. (z) Diodor. Sic. ibidem.

which happen'd between him and his Father Au-

geas, plac'd him upon the Throne.

After this Tyndareus being expell'd Sparta by his Brother Hippocoon, and Hyionus Son of Licymnius, and a Friend to Hercules, murder'd by Hippocoon's Sons, Hercules very much griev'd at his Death, came and gave them Battle, in which many of them were kill'd; afterwards he took Sparta, which being his own Conquest, he entrusted Tyndareus with it, to be deliver'd to his Posterity. In this Fight sew on Hercules's side were kill'd, amongst those were Iphicles and Seventeen of Cepheus's Twenty Sons. On the Enemy's side sell Hippocoon with Ten of his

Sons, beside a great Number of Spartans.

This War being ended Hercules return'd to Arcadia, where he got Auge Aleos the King's Daughter with Child, and from thence went to Symphalus. Auge, as foon as her Father discover'd her to be big with Child, was committed to one Nauplius, whom he order'd to throw her into the Sea; in her Journey to Nauplia, a Port in Argolis, Auge was deliver'd of a Male Child in a Wood near the Mountain Parthenius, where she left it, and went on her Journey with Nauplius. Upon their Arrival at the Port, Nauplius instead of drowning Auge gave her to some Carians who were just failing for Asia, and afterwards fold her to Teutbras King of Mysia. In the mean time the Child was found upon the Mountain Parthenius sucking a Deer, and was carry'd to Corythus the King, who brought him up as his own Son, and from the Deer which gave him fuck, call'd him Telephus. When he came to Man's Estate, and had been inform'd by the Oracle, who were his true Parents, he went into Mysia, where Teuthras having no Male Issue, gave him his Daughter Argiope in Marriage, and adopted him his Successor in the Kingdom.

Hercules was so much concern'd at the Loss of his Brother Iphicles, and his Friend Hyionus, that

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Five Years after his coming to Pheneus, he left Arcadia, and departed out of Peloponnesus, and with a Company of Arcadians came to Calydon, a City of Etolia, where though he had an infinite Number of Children by other Women, yet being now without a Wise, and wanting legitimate Issue, he marry'd Deianira Oeneus the King's Daughter, by whom he had two other Sons. To ingratiate himself with the Calydonians he turn'd the Course of the River Achelous into another Channel; whence the Fable arose that he sought with Achelous in the Shape of a Bull, and cut off One of his Horns, and gave it to the £toli: It was call'd the Horn of Amalthan, and abounded with Plenty of all sorts of Fruit.

After this Hercules affisted the Calydonians in a War with the Thesproti, took the City Ephyra, kill'd Phileus the King, and on his Daughter, whom he had taken captive, begat Tlepolemus. About the Third Year after he had marry'd Deianira being at Supper with Oeneus, he unfortunately kill'd Architeles's Son Eurynomus, who waited at the Table. with a Blow of his Fift. Upon this Misfortune he immediately left Calydon, and came to the River Euenus, where Nellus the Centaur, having first taken Deianira into his Boat to ferry her over, and attempting to ravish her, was shot by Hercules. Nessus, as he was dying, order'd Deianira to mix Oyl with his Seed, and the Blood which flow'd from his Wound, and anoint her Husband's Coat with it, having perswaded her that it was such a Love-potion as would infallibly secure him from loving any other Woman; accordingly she prepar'd the Medicine, and unknown to Hercules referv'd it against the first Occasion. Hercules having pass'd the River went to Ceyx King of Trachin (a).

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⁽²⁾ Diodor. Sic, l. 4.

Hercules not long after this contracted a very strict Alliance with the Arcadians, and by their Affistance subdued several Princes and Cities in Greece. His last Expedition was against Eurytus, whom he flew with his Three Sons, and taking away Iole, came to Cenæum a Promontory of Eubæa; where being about to facrifice he fent his Servant Lichas to Deianira at Trachin for his Shirt and Coat, wherein he us'd to perform that Religious Service. She being inform'd by Lichas that Iole, was taken, for fear she should rob her of her Husband's Affections, anointed his Shirt with the Medicine given her by the Centaur Nessus. The Shirt having toucht his Body the Poison had so sudden an Operation upon him, that the Violence of his Pain forc'd him to disband his Army, and return to Trachin, where his Torment still encreasing, he fent to the Oracle to enquire about a Remedy. In answer to which he was told, that he should be carry'd up to the Mountain Oeta, where a great Pile of Wood being rais'd, Jupiter would take care of the rest. This being done, and all Hopes of Recovery past, Hercules in his warlike Habit cast himself upon the Pile, and defir'd the Standers by to put Fire to it; which, when all his own Relations refus'd to do, Peas who came that way to feek his Cattle, or, as most others deliver his Son Philocetes, fet Fire to it, and for his Reward had Hercules's Bow and Arrows. The Pile being likewise kindled with Lightning, was presently reduc'd, together with the Body, into Ashes; Jolaus finding none of his Bones, a Perswafion arole, that he pass'd from amongst Mankind to the Gods, as the Oracle had formerly foretold. Iole he gave to his Son Hyllus, whom he commanded to marry her, when he came to Age. As for Deianira when she perceiv'd what she had brought upon her Husband, she hang'd her felf for Grief.

Hercules being dead, his Children stay'd some time at Trachin with Ceyx the King, till Hyllus and

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some more of them were grown up, when Eurystheus entertaining the same jealous Thoughts of them, as he had done before of their Father, was refolv'd to banish them all out of Peloponnesus. Accordingly he fent to Ceyx, commanding him upon Pain of his Displeasure to remove them together with Iolaus, and the rest of his Family; they being unable to make any Resistance voluntarily quitted the place, and fent about to the chief Cities in Greece, to beg their Protection, which all of them refus'd, except the Athenians, who plac'd them in Tricorynthus, One of the Four Parts of the City. After some time when they were arriv'd at their full Age, and began to reflect upon the Glory of their Father, and the Royal Stock from whence they descended, Eurystheus grew still more afraid of them, and led out an Army against them; they being affisted by the Athenians under the Conduct of their Cousin Iolaus, and Theseus, overthrew his Forces, and kill'd him with all his Sons, and then invaded Peloponnesus. At this time a Plague infested the Country, and the Oracle answer'd that it was because the Heraclide return'd before their time, upon which they left Peloponnesus, and went to Marathon.

Hyllus being about this time come to Age, marry'd Iole, as his Father had enjoin'd him, and us'd his utmost Endeavours to make a way for the Return of the Heraclida. Having consulted the Oracle at Delphi, he was answer'd if they waited till the Third Fruit, they should certainly return. Hyllus, after Three Years were expir'd, which Space of time he thought was intended by the Third Fruit, made another Attempt upon Peloponnesus. Atreus the Son of Pelops was then after the Death of Eurystheus, in Possession of the Kingdom of Mycene, and had enter'd into a Confederacy with the Inhabitants of Tegea, and others, who now allisted him against the Heraclida. Their Forces being assembled at the Isthmus, Hyllus challeng'd any One of the Enemy

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Enemy to fingle Combat, upon this Condition, that if he conquer'd, the Heraclidae should take Possession of Eurysthems's Kingdom, but if he was kill'd, they should not return into Peloponnesus till after Fifty Years. Wherefore the Heraclidae, their Champion Hyllus being kill'd by Echemus King of Tegea, were forc'd to return to Tricorynthus. Their Grandmother Alcmena in the mean time going to Thebes, and not long after disappearing, had Divine Honours paid to her Memory. Others of the Heraclidae went to Agimius, the Son of Dorus, and demanded of him the Country Hestiaotis, which their Father had conquer'd, and given him in trust for his Children; and by this means they were incorporated with the Dores.

Licymnius, the Son of Electryon, and Tlepolemus of Hercules by Astyoche, the Daughter of Phyleus, having some time before this been admitted Inhabitants of Argos, Tlepolemus in a Quarrel kill'd Electryon, and made his Escape to Rhodos. This Island was at that time inhabited by a Colony of the Hellenes, whom Triopas the Son of Phorbas had planted there. Tlepolemus, after he had divided it amongst the Inhabitants into Three equal Parts, built Three Cities, Lindus, Jalysus, and Camirus, and upon the account of his Father's Glory, obtain'd the Government of the whole Island, and afterwards assisted Agamemnon at the Siege of Troy.

A. M. About these Times Theseus sourish'd at Athens; 2770 he was the Son of Ageus, the Ninth King of that place, by Athra the Daughter of Pittheus King of Troezen. Ageus had for a long time lain under Contempt at Athens for want of Issue, especially with his Brother Pallas, who being strengthen'd with a numerous Race of Fisty Sons, had behav'd himself with so much Insolence towards him, as gave some Disturbance to his Government. This haughty Carriage of his Brother put him upon going to Delphi, where he receiv'd that celebrated Answer, which

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which forbad him the Use of Women, till his Return to Athens (b); but it was so ambiguously express'd, that he went to Troezen, and advis'd with Pittheus, a Man of the greatest Knowledge, and Wisdom of his time, and particularly famous for expounding Oracles. He, taking Advantage from the Obscurity of the Oracle, prevail'd upon him to lie with his Daughter Athra. Ageus got her with Child, and before he left Troezen, hid a Sword and a Pair of Shoes under a Stone, which had a Cavity exactly fitting them. Æthra being only privy to it, Ægeus commanded her, if she was deliver'd of a Son, to fend him with the Tokens to Athens, as foon as he was able to lift the Stone, and take them from under it; and to use all possible Secrecy, lest the Pallantide should fall upon him in the Road, and by his Death make way for their own Family to the Crown. She being deliver'd of a Boy, his true Parentage was conceal'd for fome time, and Pittheus gave out a Report that he was begotten by Neptune, the Tutelar God of Troezen. The Child, when he was about Sixteen Years old, discovering great Strength both of Body and Mind, his Mother inform'd him who was his true Father, and brought him to the Stone, which he easily removing, she order'd him to carry the Sword and Shoes to Ageus at Athens.

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wer, hich It was at this time very dangerous travelling thither by Land, no part of the Country being free from Thieves and Murderers: for fince Hercules, who before his Misfortunes had destroy'd a great Number of them, liv'd in Asia, under the Service of Queen Omphale, their old Practices were renew'd, and the same Villanies broke out afresh, no Man being left to chastise their Insolence. Both his Mother and Grandsather were very earnest with him to go by Water, but he rejoyc'd at so sair an Opportunity

⁽b) Plutarch, in Thefeo, Apollodor 1.3. c. 14.

of exerting his Courage, and notwithstanding all their Importunity, set forward on his Journey by Land. For the Reputation which Hercules had rais'd in the World, had bred such a generous Emulation in his Breast, that by Day his Thoughts, and by Night his Dreams were of nothing else but the Labours of Hercules; and he thought himself unworthy of the near Relation which he bore to that Hero (both of them being born of Couzen Germans by the Mother's side) unless he deserved it by great Atchievements.

His First Encounter was with Periphetes, the Son of Vulcan and Anticlea, and from the Weapon which he us'd in Fight call'd Corynetes or the Club bearer, Thefeus kill'd him in fingle Combat, upon the Confines of Epidaurus, and as Hercules wore the Lion's Skin, in Remembrance of his Victory, fo Thefeus always carry'd about Periphetes's Club. His next Difficulty was to pass through the Isthmus, where he met with Sinnis the Son of Polypemon and Sylea: He was call'd Pityocamptes, or the Pine-bender, from his bending Pines, and tying the Bodies of Passengers upon Two opposite Branches, which, as they return'd to their natural Posture, by their suddain Force, tore their Limbs asunder; but now he met with the just Reward of his Cruelty, and was kill'd by Thefeus the very fame way, by which he had before destroy'd fo many others. After this he kill'd the Cromyonian Sow, a Beast of wonderful Strength and Fierceness, which did much Mischief about the Country. It's Name was Phaa, and there are those who say that Phaa was a Female Robber, infamous for her Lust and Cruelty, who liv'd at Cromyon, and obtain'd the Name of Sow by her beaftly Life, and lewd Conversation.

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The next Man he kill'd was Sciron, whom he threw from a Rock. He was a famous Robber upon the Borders of Megara, who, as some relate, us'd to stretch out his Feet for Passengers to wash, and when they

they had done, kickt them down the Rocks, which from him were called Scironides. The Writers of Megara give him the Character of a just and good Man, but this being contrary to the general Sense of Antiquity, the former seems the more probable. In Eleusis he kill'd Cercyon, an Arcadian, at Wrestling; and going on a little farther, in the City Hermione he slew Damastes, otherwise called Procrustes, by distending his Limbs to an equal Length with his own Bed, as he himself us'd to serve Strangers; thus exactly copying after that great Original Hercules, whom in all his Actions he strictly follow'd, punishing wicked Men, and putting them to the same Torments, which they had inflicted upon others.

Having perform'd these Exploits he arriv'd at Athens, where he found not only the City, but Ægeus's own private Family, in Tumult and Confusion. For Medea, who after her Flight from Corinth, was receiv'd by Ageus, and had fed him with the fond Hopes of restoring him to Youth by her Medicines, and enabling him to get Children, and thereby of disappointing the Hopes of his Brother's Family, was admitted to his Bed. She got the First Knowledge of Theseus, and making her Advantage of Ægeus's old Age, which is naturally full of Jealoufy, but in him render'd more uneafy by the Faction then in the City, perswaded him to poison Theseus, at a Banquet to be prepar'd for him, as being a Stranger. Thefeus coming to the Entertainment, thought it not fit to discover himself first, but was rather willing to give his Father an Opportunity of finding him out, and when the Meat was upon the Table, drew out his Sword as if he delign'd to cut with it. Ægeus no sooner saw the Token, but he threw down the Cup of Poison, embrac'd Thefeus, and immediately calling an Assembly of the People, own'd him publickly for his Son; and he was receiv'd with great Joy merely upon the Reputation of his Courage and great Exploits. D 3

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54 The History of GREECE. Book I.

The Pallantida, who till now had liv'd upon the Hopes and Expectation of the Kingdom after Ægeus's Death, as foon as Thefeus a Foreigner, and illegitimate was declar'd Heir to the Crown, broke out into open Rebellion. They divided themfelves into Two Bodies; one of them under Pallas their Father march'd from Sphetta against the City, the other lay in Ambush at Gargettus, with a Defign to attack the Enemy on both fides : but all their Motions being discover'd to Theseus, he cut off those who lay in Ambuscade; upon which Pallas and his Party were immediately dispers'd. Theseus after this being always uneasy, when out of Action, to make himself popular, fought with the Bull of Marathon, which had for some time infested the Inhabitants of Tetrapolis, and having brought him alive in Triumph through the City, facrific'd him to Apollo.

About this Time arriv'd the Collectors of the Tribute which the Atheniaus paid to Minos, upon the following account. Androgeos the Son of Minos some Years before coming to the Feast of Athenaa, overcame all that contended with him in the Exercifes perform'd upon that Solemnity, and contracted a very near Familiarity with the Pallantida: Ageus thinking their Friendship with so powerful a Prince would be of dangerous Consequence to his Government, gave private Orders that Androgeos should be murder'd. Minos to be reveng'd on Athens for the Murder of his Son, proclaim'd War against the City, but finding no Satisfaction he pray'd to the Gods, who punish'd them with Famine and Pestilence, and dry'd up their very Rivers. The Oracle told them, that there should be no End of their Calamities, till they were reconcil d to Minos. He exacted an annual Tribute of Seven young Men and as many Virgins, for the Space of Seven according to Diodorus, or as Plutarch fays, Nine Years, to be devour'd by the Minotaur.

It was now the Third Time of the Tribute's being due, when the old ill Humours broke out again, and the People were fill'd with fresh Clamours against Ageus, that he who had been the fole Cause of all their Misfortunes, should be the only Person exempt from the Punishment. These Complaints very senfibly affected Thefeus; he thought it but just and reafonable to partake in the Sufferings of his Fellowcitizens, and notwithstanding the Prayers and Entreaties of his Father voluntarily offer'd himself for One, who was to be fent to Crete, all the rest being chosen by Lot. Theseus encouraging Ageus with the Confidence of killing the Minotaur, he gave the Pilot a white Sail, commanding him to use that if they return'd with Safety, otherwise to hang out the black one, with which they constantly fail'd.

Upon his Arrival at Crete, Thefeus offer'd himfelf to fight with the Minotaur in fingle Combat. This Minotaur, according to the fabulous Accounts, was a Monster compounded of Bull and Man; but the more probable Opinion is, that it was one Taurus a Captain under Minos. He was a Man of great Strength, and always overcame in the Games instituted by Minos in Memory of his Son Androgeos, and for his Reward had the Athenian Captives, whom he us'd with great Severity. Taurus, according to Philochorus's Account, being faln under the general Odium, by reason of his Power, and Pride, which render'd the other more insupportable; and being suspected of too near a Familiarity with Pa-Jiphae the Queen, a Woman of no great Character for her Vertue, Minos easily comply'd with Theseus's Request. He having conquer'd Taurus, the Athenian Captives were releas'd, and the Tribute it self remitted.

This Adventure being finisht with Success, Theseus set sail for Athens with his Company, and Ariadne the King's Daughter. She being strangely charm'd with his manly Beauty, and the Vigour and

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Address which he had shewn in the Fight with Taurus, was resolved to run away with him: But Theseus lest her in the Island Naxos, where Bacchus afterwards fell in love with her. Theseus and his Company were so transported at their Success in Crete, that neither himself, nor the Pilot, remember'd to hang out the white Sail: so that Ageus, upon their Approach to the Coasts of Attica, discovering no Sign of Joy, threw himself headlong from a Rock, into the Sea, which from him was call'd Agean.

Thefeus upon his Arrival found the People divided between Joy and Grief, and the Throne vacant by the Death of his Father. The First Thing he did after his Accession to the Crown, was the gathering all the Inhabitants of Attica into One Town; out of the old and new City he made One, and instituted a common Festival to be observ'd for ever, and call'd it Panathenea, or the Feast of all the united Athenians. For the Encouragement of Strangers to come and people his City, he gave them all the Privileges of Natives, and instituted another Feast called Metoecia. He dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and built One common Prytaneum or Council-Hall, where it stood for many Ages. After this he laid down the Regal Power, and in effect establish'd a Commonwealth, for he referv'd to himself only the Command of their Armies, and Guardianship of their Laws. Then he divided his Common-wealth into Three distinct Classes, of Nobles, Husbandmen, and Artificers. The Nobles elected Magistrates out of their own Body, interpreted and executed the Laws, and had the Care of all things relating to Religion. The whole City was in other respects almost reduc'd to an Equality; the Nobles excell'd the rest in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number.

The next thing he did was the Coining Money, which he stampt with the Image of an Ox, either in Memory of the Bull of Marathon, or of Minos's

Captain, or to recommend Husbandry to the Citizens, and from hence came the Expression frequent among the Grecians, of a thing's being worth 10 or 100 Oxen (c). After this he join'd Megara to Attica, and erected that celebrated Pillar in the Istomus, shewing the Limits of the Two Countries which meet there, with these Inscriptions,

On the East-side, THIS IS NOT PELO-PONNESUS, BUT IONIA.

On the West, THIS IS PELOPONNESUS,
NOT IONIA.

As Hercules had instituted Games in Honour of Jupiter Olympius, so did Theseus in Honour of Neptune, and from the Isthmus, where they were cele-

brated, call'd them Isthmian Games.

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Concerning his Expedition against the Amazons there are so many and such different Relations, that it would be endless to mention them. According to most Accounts, he was engag'd in Two Wars with the Amazons. In the former he affisted Hercules, and for the great Service he did him, was rewarded with Antiope. This gave Occasion to the Second Expedition, in which Thefeus, with a Navy of his own, fail'd to the Euxin Sea, subdued the Amazons, and in this War some say he took Antiope. Others fay that the Amazons, under the Command of Hippolyte, invaded Attica, with a Design to recover Antiope; but after they had spent Four Months to little or no purpose, by Hippolyte's means a Peace was concluded. Some Accounts make Hippolyte to have been shot by one Molpadias, and their whole Army routed by Theseus and the Athenians, in a place from hence call'd Aua Cornor (d). The Athenians, either

⁽c) Plutarch. in Theseo. (d) Idem ibid. Meursius in Theseo, c. 20.

in Memory of the Treaty made between them and the Amazons, or the Victory obtain'd over them, erected a Pillar near the Temple of Tellus Olympia. Theseus either by Antiope or Hippolyte had a Son nam'd Hippolytus. After this Deucalion, Minos's Eldest Son, entring into a Confederacy with the Athenians, gave Thefeus his Sister Phadra in Marriage; upon which Hippolytus was fent to Troezen, to be brought up by Æthra. Thefeus in the mean time had Two other Sons by Phadra, Acamas and Demophoon. Hippolytus after some time returning to Athens, to the Celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, his Mother-in-law fell in love with him; and not long after he left the City follow'd him to Troezen, with her Husband Thefeus, where she tempted him to satisfy her unnatural Desires, Hippolytus refusing to abuse his Father's Bed, Phadra accus'd him to Thefeus of having endeavour'd to ravish her. After this Theseus is seign'd to have pray'd to Neptune to revenge him on his Son by some violent Death, and that as Hippolytus pass'd by the Sea Shore, Neptune fent out his Sea Calves, which fo frighted Hippolytus's Horses, that they overturn'd his Coach, and tore him in pieces. Phedra when she heard of his Death hang'd her felf for Grief; as for Hippolytus, he was restor'd to Life by Esculapius, at the Entreaty of Diana, who upon the account of his Chastity, took him into Italy, to bear her Company in Hunting, and other Diversions of the Field.

About this time Thefeus contracted a very intimate Friendship with Pirithous, the Son of Ixion. This extraordinary and celebrated Friendship began after a very particular manner. Pirithous, being enslam'd with a Desire of making a Tryal of Thefeus's matchless Strength and Courage, which had gain'd him such a Reputation in Greece, drove away a Herd of Oxen belonging to Thefeus from Marathon. Thefeus immediately pursued him, but as soon as they had

had view'd one another, each of them were so taken with the Comliness of each other's Person, that they forgot all Thoughts of Fighting, and swore an inviolable Friendship. After this Pirithous marry'd Deidamia and invited Theseus to the Wedding, and desir'd him to enter into Alliance with the Lapithæ. Hither came the Centaurs also, who as soon as they were heated with Wine, offering Violence to the Women, the Lapithæ took their immediate Revenge, kill'd many of them upon the place, and by the Assistance of Theseus drove the whole Race of them

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Thefeus was now about Fifty Years old, when according to Hellanicus, he ravish'd Helena, who was then very young, and not of Years to be marry'd. There are many different Reports concerning this Rape, but the most credibly attested, according to Plutarch, is that Thefeus and Pirithous stole her from Sparta, as she was dancing in the Temple of Diana Orthia. They were pursued as far as Tegea, but they made their Escape out of Peloponnesus, and cast Lots for Helena upon this Condition, that he whose Fortune it was to have her, should assist the other in procuring a Wife. The Lot falling to Thefeus, he according to Agreement, went with him to steal away Proserpina, the Daughter of Aidoneus King of the Moloss in Epirus. The King had a great Dog call'd Cerberus, which whoever conquer'd was to have his Daughter; but having been inform'd that Pirithous came not to court, but to steal away his Daughter, he feiz'd them both, threw Pirithous to be torn in pieces by Cerberus, and imprison'd Theseus. He was not long after releas'd; for Hercules, as Plutarch relates the Story, in his Travels through that Country being receiv'd by Aidoneus, and accidentally falling upon a Discourse of Theseus and Pirithous, Theseus, at the Petition of Hercules, obtain'd his Liberty.

Theseus upon his Return to Athens, found his Affairs there in great Distraction. For Menestheus

the Son of Peteus, Great Grandson to Erectheus, had ingratiated himself both with the Nobility and Commons, by his fly Infinuations against Thefeus. Whilst he was busy in infecting the Minds of the People, the War which Caftor and Pollux made upon the City came very fortunately to improve those Seeds of Sedition, which he had been fowing, and some fay that by his Perswasion they invaded the City. They demanded their Silter Helena, but being inform'd that she was at Aphidna, they took that place, and return'd to Athens. The whole City was then in great Consternation , but Menestheus perswaded the People to open the Gates, and receive them, fince their Quarrel was only with Thefeus, who had done them the First Injury, in ravishing their Sister. Thefeus finding the Faction too strong to be reduc'd to any Temper, privately fent away his Children to Elephenor, the Son of Chalcodus in Eubaa, and having folemnly curs'd the People of Athens, in Gargettus, where was a place from thence call'd' Agalnetor, or the place of Cursing, fail'd to Seyrus where his patrimonial Estate lay. Lycomedes, then King of the Island, at first receiv'd him with a great Shew of Friendship, but afterwards, being either jealous of fo great a Man, or to gratify Menestheus, led him up to the highest Mountain in the Island, and threw him down headlong: Others fay, that his Foot flipt as he was walking there after Supper, according to his usual Custom. At that time there appear'd little Concern for his Death at Athens, and Menestheus quietly posses'd himself of the Kingdom; but in succeeding Ages there happen'd feveral remarkable Accidents, which mov'd the Athenians to pay Divine Honours to his Memory.

The chief and most solemn Sacrifices were perform'd to him on the Eighth of the Month Pyanepsion, the Day on which he return'd with the Athenian Captives from Crete. Besides these, lesser Sacrifices were offer'd to him on the Eighth Day of every

Month,

Month, either because he First lest Troezen on the Eighth of Hecatombæon, or because they sacrific'd the same Day to Neptune his pretended Father (e).

In Thefeus's Days fell out the famous Theban A. M. War, the Occasion of which was no less dire and 2780, tragical, than its Event. Lajus King of Thebes having marry'd Jocasta, or as some call her Epicaste the Daughter of Creon, or according to others of Menæceus, and for many Years being without Children, consulted the Oracle, which foretold that he should be kill'd by his own Son. Jocasta being not long after deliver'd, Lajus to prevent the Accomplishment of the Oracle, bor'd Holes in the Infant's Feet as foon as it was born, and order'd it to be hung up in the Woods, that it might be devour'd by the wild Beasts. However, either those to whom this Charge was committed relenting at fo barbarous a Fact, or others who accidentally found him upon the Mountain Cithæron, carry'd him to Corinth, where Polybus the King healing his Feet, which were fwell'd with the Pain the Boring had put him to (from which Tumour he had the Name of Oedipus) and having no Issue brought him up as his own Son (f). Oedipus being grown up, and having been inform'd of his being expos'd in his Infancy, was going to enquire of the Oracle at Delphi, who were his true Parents, when at the same time his Father Lajus, either carry'd by natural Affection, or alarm'd at fome flying Report concerning him, was upon his Journey to the same place, to know what was become of his Son. It so unfortunately fell out, that they met in Phocis, where Lajus somewhat imperiously bidding him give way, Oedipus, who was a Youth full of Spirit, and not us'd to put up fuch rough Language, in the height of his Passion kill'd his old Father, being utterly ignorant who he was. After his Father's Death, expounding a Riddle propos'd to him

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⁽e) Plutarch. Thefeus. (f) Diodor. Sic. 1.4. Apollodor. 1.3. c.5.

by the Monster Sphinx, he obtain'd the Kingdom of Thebes, and marry'd his own Mother Jocasta, in whose incestuous Embraces he begat Two Sons, Eteocles and Polynices; and as many Daughters, Antigone and Ismene; but some say he had the Daughters by

Eurygenea the Daughter of Hyperphas (g).

At length a dismal Train of melancholy Circumstances discovering his true Parentage, and the most unnatural Crimes of Parricide and Incest, which he had committed, amidst the Horrour and Distraction of Rage and Guilt, he tore out his own Eyes, and lest the City, or as some say was expell'd, loading his Sons with Curses and Reproaches, for suffering their Father to be thrown out of his Kingdom, and not so much as listing up an Hand to assist him. From Thebes he went with his Daughter Antigone to Colonus in Attica, where he fled for Sanctuary to a Grove dedicated to the Eumenides, and being receiv'd by Theseus, not long after died (b). As for his Wise and Mother Jocasta, she hang'd her self for Grief, before he lest Thebes.

His Two Sons, the Throne being now vacant by the Banishment and Death of their Father, made an Agreement to reign by Turns, and each of them to take his Year of Government, and then refign to the other. But contrary to this Agreement, when Polynices had after a Year's Government refign'd the Kingdom to his Brother, or according to others, when Eteocles had reign'd the First Year, he refus'd to yield his Brother's Right of succeeding the following Year: upon which Polynices fled to Argos, where he contracted a very near Alliance with Adrastus King of the place, by a very odd Accident. Polynices, not reaching the King's Palace before Night, was forc'd to feek his Lodging in some of the outward Buildings, where meeting with Tydeus, the Son of Oeneus, who for Man-flaughter had

⁽g) Apollodor, ibidem. (h) Idem ibid.

been oblig'd tofly his own Gountry Caly donia, they came to Blows about their Lodging. This fuddain Disturbance calling out Adrastus, he perceiv'd in Tydeus's Shield a Boar, in Polynices's a Lyon; this put him in Mind of an old Oracle, which advis'd him to give his Two Daughters in Marriage to a Lyon and a Boar, and accordingly he bestow'd his Daughter Argia upon Polynices, and Deipyle upon Tydeus; and promis'd to restore them both to their own Countries. To this purpose he levy'd an Army, and drew together as many as he could of the best Captains in Greece; but amongst the rest he was particularly defirous of engaging Amphiaraus, the Son of Oicleus, who had marry'd his Sifter Eripbyle, in the common Enterprize; he was a great Sooth-fayer, and a Man of good Courage. Adrastus having made several fruitless Attempts upon him, Polynices more prudently thought, that the only way to secure the Husband, would be to win the Wife to their Interest; wherefore he endeavour'd to bribe her to their Cause, by offering her a very rich Bracelet, upon Condition that the perswaded her Husband to affist Eriphyle could not refist the Charms of so alluring a Bait, and when Adrastus and Amphiaraus had put the Controversy to this Issue, that they would both oblige themselves by solemn Oath to stand to her final Determination, she like a wanton Woman, that valued a Bracelet more than her Husband, refolv'd that he should go to the War. Amphiaraus, who foresaw that none of the Captains would escape except Adrastus, and had therefore not only refus'd to go himself, but perswaded others to Itay at home, now finding that it was more easy to foresee, than avoid Destiny, sought his only Comfort in Revenge; and therefore charg'd his Sons, that when they came to full Age, they should kill their Mother, and make War upon Thebes (i).

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⁽i) Dioder. Sic. 1. 4. Apollodor. 1. 3. c. 5.

From Nemea the Argivi marcht to Cithæron, from whence Tydeus was fent Ambassador to Thebes, to demand of Eteocles the Performance of the Compact made between him and Polynices. This Message was not very graciously received by Eteocles, who was resolved to keep himself in Possession of what he had got as long as he could: which Tydeus perceiving,

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⁽k) Apollodor, ibidem.

partly ambitious of getting himself Honour, and partly to make Trial of the Theban Courage, made feveral Challenges, and obtain'd the Victory in all of them, not without the Envy and Malice of the People, who laid Fifty of their choicest Men in Ambush, to intercept him as he return'd to the Army; of which Fifty he kill'd all but one Mæon, whom he fent back to the City as an Herald and Witness of his Valour. When the Argivi understood how Eteocles stood resolv'd, they presented themselves before the City, and encamp'd about it. Thebes at that time had Seven Gates, wherefore the Argivi divided themselves into Seven Bodies: Adrastus with his Troops advanc'd before the Gate call'd Homoloides, Capaneus before the Ogygian, Tydeus before Crenis, Amphiaraus before Prætis, Hippomedon (instead of whom some name Mecesteus) before Onchais, Parthenopæus before Electra, and Polynices be. fore Hypsista. In the mean time Eteocles having arm'd his Men, and put himself in a Posture of Defence, consulted Tiresias, the old blind Theban Soothfayer, concerning the Event of the War, who affur'd him of Victory and Success, if Menaceus, the Son of Creon, a principal Man of the City, would devote himself to be facrific'd in Honour of Mars. Menæceus, as foon as he understood that he could purchase Victory to his Countrymen by his Blood, voluntarily kill'd himself before the Gates of the City. Soon after they came to a Battle, in which the Argivi at first made the Enemy give ground, insomuch that Capaneus advanc'd with Ladders to the very Walls; and scal'd the Rampart, from whence he was call down with Stones: The Poets feign him to have been struck by Jupiter with a Thunder-bolt, after which the Argivi were put to Flight. In this Battle many brave Men fell on both sides, and so many Lives were lost, that both Parties seem'd to have Content, and desir'd that the Two Brothers might decide the Quarrel in fingle Combat, in which the

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Cause of Empire was so equally sought, that they

mutually fell by each other's Sword.

Another Battle was fought after their Deaths, in which the Sons of Aftacus behav'd themselves with great Bravery: Ismarus, One of the Sons, kill'd Hippomedon; Parthenopaus, who was faid to have been fo handsom that none could hurt him when his Face was bare, was kill'd by Amphidicus, or according to Euripides by Periclymenus the Son of Neptune; the valiant Tydeus by Melanippus Astacus's other Son, but before he dy'd Amphiaraus brought him Melanippus's Head, which he cruelly tore open, and fwallow'd up the Brains. Upon this barbarous Fact, Pallas who (as the Poets feign) had brought from Jupiter, such a Medicine as would have made him immortal, refus'd to apply it; by which probably may be meant, that his Honour, which would otherwise have been immortal, was so stain'd by this fingle Act of Inhumanity, which he shew'd at his Death, that he ought not to be remember'd without Ignominy and Disgrace. The Army of the Argivi being thus defeated, Adrastus and Amphiaraus fled; Amphiaraus is faid to have been swallow'd alive by the Earth, near the River I/menus, together with his Chariot and Horses, and was lost out of Sight, being perhaps either cover'd with the Carcasses of those who fell in the Battle, or drown'd in the River. Adrastus alone of the Seven Captains efcap'd by the Swiftness of his Horse Arion; however, this Victory cost the Thebans so dear, that they themselves were almost ruin'd, and Cadmea Victoria became a Proverb. Adrastus flying to Athens, sate at the Altar of Mercy, and defir d the Assistance of the Athenians to recover the dead Bodies of his Friends and Souldiers who dy'd before Thebes. For Creon, Eteocles's Son, Laodamas being then a Minor, and under his Care, having taken upon him the Government, had not only publisht an Edict forbidding the Argivi the last Offices due to Human Nature, but had caus'd

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caus'd Antigone, One of the Daughters of Oedipus; to be bury'd alive because she had sought out her Browther Polynices's Body, and like a pious Sister given it a decent Interment. The Athenians, considering the Justice of his Request, sent an Army under the Command of Theseus, who took Thebes, and recover'd the Bodies; their Funerals being afterwards publickly solemniz'd, Evadne, Capaneus's Wise, threw her self into the Funeral Pile, and was burnt with her Husband (1). This sell out 28 Years before

the Siege of Troy.

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The ill Success of this War was very highly refented by the Sons of the Seven Captains, who refolv'd to revenge their Father's Death with the Ruin and utter Destruction of Thebes. Having confulted the Oracle concerning the Success of their Enterprize, the God affur'd them of Victory, if they chose Alemaon the Son of Amphiaraus for their General. To this Expedition gave in their Names, Ægialeus the Son of Adrastus, Diomedes of Tydeus, Promachus of Parthenopæus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Thersander of Polynices, Euripylus of Mecesteus, Alcmaon their General, and Amphilochus the Son of Amphiaraus, who were call'd Epigoni. These advancing to the City were very warmly receiv'd by Laodamas, the Son of Eteocles, who being now arriv'd to Years of Maturity, and in Possession of the Kingdom, behav'd himself very bravely. In the First Encounter Agialeus was kill'd by Laodamas, and he himself, according to Apollodorus, was afterwards flain by Akmaon, but Paufanias fays he made his Escape out of the Battle, and fled to the Illyrians (m). After the Loss of their King the Thebans began to fue for a Treaty, and in the mean time conveyed themselves away by Night with their Wives and Children. and wander'd about till at last they built the Town call'd Hestiaa (n). When the Epigoni perceiv'd

⁽¹⁾ Apollodor. l. 3. c. 7. (m) Pausanias in Baoticis. (n) Apollodor. l. 3. c. 7.

that the Enemy had quitted the Town, they enter'd it, and demolish the Walls: Some say that it was sav'd by Thersander, Polynices's Son, who perswading the Citizens to return, reign'd over them for many Years, and led the Thebans to the Trojan War which

follow'd not long after.

The First Expedition in which the united Forces of Greece were employ'd, was that against Troy (o), famous for the great Battles fought with fuch variable Success, the Length and Toil of the Siege, and the Number of Princes and brave Commanders from all parts of Greece, who by their extraordinary Valour and Conduct seem'd to forewarn Asia, that One Day she should be taught to obey their Posterity. The First Cause of this War was the Rape of Helena by Paris, which some think was owing to an herediditary Quarrel between the Families of Priamus and Agamemnon, occasion'd by the Rape of Ganymede, Brother to Ilus, Priamus's Grandfather, whom Tantalus, Great Grandfather to Agamemnon, had stoln Paris, otherwise call'd Alexander, Priamus's Second Son, by way of Reprifal for Ganymede run away with Helena, Wife to Menelaus Brother to Agamemnon. Herodotus thinks it only a Continuation of the old Quarrel between the Greeks and Barbarians, which ow'd its First Rife to the most ancient Rape of Io by the Phanicians, in Revenge of which the Grecians had stole Europa out of Phanicia, and Medea from Colchis, and that this was the chief Motive of Paris's stealing Helena out of Greece (p). Others think that it was to procure the Restoring of Hesione, Priamus's Sister, whom Hercules had formerly taken from Troy, and given to Telamon; but it is most probable, that Paris had no regard either to the Rape of Europa, or Medea, nor any Thoughts of recovering his Aunt Hesione, but was merely incited by his Lust to what he did, a thing common in those Days.

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⁽o) Thucyd. I. 1. (p) Herodot. I. 1. a cap. 3. ad 5.

Helena being the celebrated Beauty of Greece, several of the most powerful Princes made their Addresses to her. Tyndareus considering the Rape which Thefeus had already made upon his Daughter, for fear her resistless Charms should tempt some Amorous Youth to steal her from her Husband, oblig'd all her Admirers to bind themselves with an Oath, that they would affift to the utmost of their Power in recovering her: then leaving Helena to her own Choice, she chose Menelaus the Son of Atreus. Helena being afterwards stoln away, Menelaus, encourag'd by the Affurances of his Brother Agamemnon, put the other Princes in mind of their Oath, by which they stood engag'd to affist him in recovering his Wife. Most of them readily concurring in the Enterprize, Agamemnon was made General of their Forces. He was King of Mycenæ, and the chief Potentate of Greece in this Age: His Dominions extended not only through a great part of Peloponnesus, but into many adjacent Islands, he was Master of a greater Revenue, and brought more Ships to the Siege than any other Prince in Greece. Under his Command embark'd all the most considerable Princes in Greece; some oblig'd by their solemn Oaths, others drawn in by the Power and Reputation of the Two Brethren, Agamemnon and Menelaus, and lastly, others out of an Ambition of partaking in the Profit and Glory of the Enterprize, join'd their Forces against Troy. The most remarkable that appear'd in this Expedition, were Achilles the Son of Peleus King of Phthia in Theffaly, with his Friend Patroclus, the Son of Menætius, and his Tutor Phanix the Son of Amyntor; Ajax and Teucer the Sons of Telamon King of Salamis, the former by his Wife Eribæa, the Daughter of Porthaon, the latter by Hesione; Idomeneus the Son of Deucalion, and King of Crete, and Meriones his Charioteer; Nestor the Son of Neleus King of Pylus, and his Two Sons, Antilechus and Thrasymedes; Ulysses the Son of La-

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These and many others of less Note, equipp'd a Fleet, which, according to Homer's Account, confifted of no less than 1200 Sail; their Land Forces, which were the greatest that had ever been rais'd out of Greece amounted to about 100000 Men. When all the necessary Preparations for this grand Enterprife were made, the Grecians being yet unwilling to run the Hazard of a long and expensive War, if Matters could be accommodated by a Treaty, Menelaus and Ulysses were fent Ambassadors to Troy, to demand Helena, and the Goods stoln with her out of Monelaus's House. After their Return without any Satisfactory Answer, a general Rendezvous was held at Aulis in Eubau, where the Fleet was some time detain'd by contrary Winds. Calchas, the Son of Thestor, a celebrated Soothsayer in the Army, had fill'd the Chiefs, and the whole Camp with many Ominous Answers, and dreadful Divinations, and at length told them, that the Anger of the Goddess Diana, who as he pretended obstructed their Passage, could not be appeas'd till Iphigenia, Agamemnon's Daughter, was sacrific'd. Whether she was sacrific'd, or whether, according to other Accounts, the Goddess accepted a Deer in her stead is not very important; but she being some way or other reconcil'd, and the Winds favouring them, they proceeded in their Expedition, and hoisted Sail for Trox.

The Grecians, upon their Arrival on the Trojan Coasts, met with such warm Reception, as convinc'd them the War would be more than One Year's Work. In the First Encounter they lost Protesilaus, who leapt first on Shore, notwithstanding the Oracle had foretold, that whoever landed first should be kill'd. Besides him Hector slew many others, without any great Loss on the Trojan side. Nine Years were spent, when the Grecians had done little more, than won just ground enough to encamp in; for notwith-Standing Agamemnon's Boast, that the Trojans, who inhabited the City, did not make a Tenth Part of the Numbers, which, according to Homer's Computation, he had brought from Greece (q), yet together with their Allies, who flockt to them out of Phrygia, Lycia, Mysia, and the greatest part of Minor Afia, they made up such a Force, as was sufficient to maintain the Field against the Grecians, who lay before the Town. One great Disadvantage, under which the Grecians labour'd, was their concinual want of Provision, for they brought no more with them, than was just sufficient to carry them to the Coast of Troy; so that a great part of their Forces was constantly employ'd in cultivating the Chersonesus, and forraging for Provision for the Grand Army (r). Herodicus also says that the Grecians the first Nine Years only cruis'd about the Coasts, exercifing their Men, and wasting the Enemy's Country, and that they did not lie before the Town, till the fatal time of Ten Years drew near, when the Oracle had foretold it should be taken. This Account Heraclitus Ponticus thinks very credible, and Ovid seems to be of the same Opinion, where he says, that from the First Year to the Tenth, there was no Fighting at all (s). The Greek Poets do not vary much from these Accounts; for they make mention of many Towns, and Islands being wasted, and great Num-

⁽⁹⁾ Ward. B. v. 129. (1) Thucyd. l. 1. (5) Heraclitus Pontic. in libro de Allegor, Homeric. Ovid. Metamorph. l. 13. v. 209.

bers of Prisoners being taken; in all which Actions Achilles was employ'd, whom it is not probable that the Army would have spar'd, if any Service of Importance was to have been perform'd before Troy.

However this be, it is generally agreed, that in the Beginning of that Summer in which Troy was taken, great Booties were brought into the Grecian Camp, and that a Plague arose amongst them, which Apollo sent to be reveng'd on Agamemnon, who detain'd Chryseis, a Captive, whom he had taken from Thebes in Cilicia, the Daughter of Chryses Apollo's Prieft, and refus'd Ranfom for her (t). Heraclitus, interpreting this place, fays, that by Apollo was meant the Sun, which rais'd pestilential Mists, and a very great Mortality in the Army (u). This is not improbable, for being encamp'd in a Morass, they were predispos'd to receive any Infection, by reason of their being crowded with those Forces, which had all this while been abroad, and were now lodg'd close together, and their having grounded their Ships also within their Fortifications. This devouring Plague, which had confum'd vast Numbers of their Army, was the Foundation of a no less fatal Quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles: for when Chalcas the Soothfayer had declar'd, that the Anger of the God could no ways be appeas'd, but by refigning the Priest's Daughter, Agamemnon enrag'd at the Thought, that he alone, and General in chief too, should be depriv'd of his fair Captive, refolv'd to have either her which fell to Achilles, Ajax, or Ulysses. Achilles, who disdain'd so mean a Dependance, as to enjoy his Mistress at the Will and Pleasure of any Man, had ended the Dispute with the Sword, had he not been prevented by Minerva (w), at whose Command he submitted to resign his beautiful Briseis; but to revenge her Loss refus'd to fight, and stay'd with his Troops within his own Ships; and the

⁽t) Thing. A. v.25. & 50. (u) Heraelitus ut Supra, (w) Ihing. A. v. 220.

rest of the Grecians, encourag'd by their Commanders,

advanc'd before the City without him.

When they appear'd before the Walls, it was agreed that Paris and Menelaus should end the Quarrel in single Combat; if the former conquer'd he was to keep Helena, and the Goods which he had stoln with her from Sparta; if the latter, Helena and every thing else was to be restor'd, and a Peace concluded. Menelaus having fairly conquer'd, Paris was snatcht out of the Fight by Venus, less the should be kill'd, and the Trojans resus'd to perform their part of the Agreement. And the Gods having decreed that Troy should be taken, Pandarus, by the pretended Advice of Minerva, wounded Menelaus, by which the Treaty being broke, they came to a Battle,

in which many were kill'd on both fides.

The Trojans were now re-inforc'd with Supplies from all the adjacent Countries, drawn into the War by their Commanders, who affisted Priamus, either out of Friendship to him or his Sons, or in Hopes of marrying his Daughters, the celebrated Beauties of those Parts, or what seems more probable, to be reveng'd on the Grecians, who had ravag'd the Countries about Troy. So that when Hector made a Sally out of the Town, he was little inferior to the Grecians either in Number of Men, or in the Quality of their Leaders. The chief Commanders in the Trojan Army were Hellor, and the other Sons of Priamus: Aneas, Antenor, and his Two Sons Archilochus, and Acamas; Sarpedon the Son of Jupiter by Laodamia, Glaucus the Son of Hippolochus, both Kings of Lycia; Asius the Son of Hyrtacus, who brought Forces from Sestus, and Abydus, and other places upon the Hellespont; Rhesus, King of Thrace, who was kill'd by Diomedes and Ulysses in his Camp, the First Night after his Arrival (x); Memnon from Æthiopia, Penthesilea Queen of the Amazons, and

⁽x) Ihing. K. v. 495.

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many others of less note who came towards the latter End of the War. The Trojans having obtain'd fuch numerous and powerful Re-inforcements, many Battles were fought with great Bravery on both fides. The most remarkable were that at King Ilus's Tomb upon the Plain, and that before the Camp, in which Heltor broke through the Grecian Fortifications, and began to fire their Ships, when Ajax the Son of Telamon, and his Brother Tencer, who were almost the only Men of Note not wounded in this Battle, made Head against Hector. The Affairs of the Grecians at this time feem'd to be in a very desperate Condition, and they were forc'd to send to Achilles, to desire him that he would either come himself in Person, or send Patroclus to their Affi-Achilles still continued obstinate in his Revenge, but Patroclus with much Difficulty obtain'd Leave to lead forth his Myrmidones to their Relief. In the mean time Agamemnon, Diomedes, Uly ffes, and the other Heroes, tho' almost disabled by their Wounds, were forc'd to arm, and rally their broken Troops. Patroclus being clad in Achilles's Armour, the Trojans, who thought he was Achilles himself, were presently dispers'd at the very Sight of him; he pursuing them made a greater Slaughter amongst them, than all the Grecians besides. He kill'd Sarpedon one of the Generals of the Lycians in fingle Combat, but being afterwards wounded by Euphorbus, was himself flain by Hector.

Achilles, who till this time sate unconcern'd amidst the Slaughter of so many of his Countrymen, and idlely indulging his Passion for the Loss of his belov'd Briseis, as soon as he heard the ungrateful News of Patroclus's Death, began to reassume more manly Thoughts, and was impatient till he had reveng'd his Friend's untimely Fate. Agamemnon's Stomach being abated by his ill Fortune, now courted him to be reconcil'd, and not only restor'd Briseis, but with her made him large Presents,

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and excus'd his Former Conduct towards him as well as he could. Achilles having with his Friend loft his Armour, was forc'd to wait till Vulcan, at the Request of his Mother Thetis, had made him a new Set. As foon as he appear'd in the Field, Things began to put on another Face; in the First Engagement he not only put the Trojans to Flight, but kill'd Hector, whom he chas'd three times about the Walls of Troy. After this he bor'd Holes in his Feet, through which thrusting leathern Thongs he ty'd his Body to the Chariot, and drag'd it about the Field very dishonourably. Priamus afterwards redeem'd his Son Hellor's Body; but Achilles's Inhumanity was not long unreveng'd, for in a short time after falling in love with Polyxena, Priamus's Daughter, notwithstanding he had kill'd her Brother Heltor, and many others of the Family, he came to the Scean Gate, as Homer fays, but according to others into Apollo's Temple with a Defign to have marry'd her, and was shot by Paris in the Heel, the only part, as the Poets feign, in which he was vulnerable. His Body was ranfom'd at the same Price for which he had fold Hector.

After the Death of Achilles there appear'd no Hopes of taking the City, and having now spent almost Ten Years in the Siege, the Grecians were at last forc'd to betake themselves to Stratagem. That they might lull the Trojans into a greater Security, they made a pretended Retreat, and hoisted Sail to the Island Tenedos. Before they fail'd from Troy they had left a wooden Horse upon the Plains, made by Epeus the Son of Endymion, and design'd as they pretended, for a Present to Minerva, in which most of the principal Men in the Army were inclos'd. The Trojans being deluded by the Cunning of one Sinon, whom the Grecians had left to carry on their Defign, broke down their Walls to receive it. In the Dead of Night, whilst some of the Trojans were afleep, and others fecure in their Mirth and Jollity,

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for the Departure of the Grecian Fleet, Sinon open'd the wooden Engine, and let down the imprison'd Heroes. After this the Signal being given to the other Grecians, who lay at Tenedos, they all immediately return'd, and the Gates being open'd to receive them, the City was presently in a Flame, and the Trojans were in the utmost Confusion, whilst the Enemy made a terrible Slaughter, and kill'd all that fell into their Hands, without Distinction. Pyrrbus the Son of Achilles enter'd the King's Palace, and, in Revenge of his Father's Death, murder'd old Priamus at the Altar of Jupiter Herceus. The only Persons of Note that escap'd the Fury of the Enemy were Antenor and Aneas, who, as some say, betray'd the City, and let in the Grecians at the Scaan Gate; Aneas, with his aged Father Anchifes A. M. upon his Back, and his little Son Ascanius, made

M. upon his Back, and his little Son Ajcanius, made 2820 his way through the midst of the Enemy, but his Wise Creusa was lost in the Crowd. Aneas, after he had underwent many Hardships and Missortunes, and had been toss'd from Sea to Sea, arriv'd in Italy, where he built the City Lavinium, so call'd from his Wise Lavinia, Daughter to Latinus King of Laurentium; from his Posterity sprung the Romans, whose Empire in after Ages extended almost over the whole World. Antenor also arriv'd there, and built a City sirst call'd after his own Name Antenorea, and afterwards from the Heneti, who came along with him, by changing the initial Letter, nam'd Venetia.

This Siege, notwithstanding the City was taken, prov'd almost as fatal to the Grecians, as it had done to the Trojans. For, besides the Calamities which they had suffer'd in the Siege, and the vast Numbers of brave Men, who sell before the Walls of Troy, those who arriv'd in Greece, selt no less afflicting Misfortunes at home: and, as Thucydides has observ'd (y), found their own Cities and Kingdoms quite ruin'd

and subverted. Some were driven by their Neighbours from their ancient Seats, and others were expell'd their Countries by Faction: Some were murder'd foon after their Arrival, and others found Usurpers plac'd in their Thrones by those who stay'd at home. The great Caufe of all which feems to have been the Dispersion of the Army, which being much weaken'd by the Calamities of a long War, and divided into many parts under several Commanders of different Interests, was not of sufficient Force to quell the several Factions. Immediately after the Siege, besides other Quarrels, which arose upon the Division of the Booty, and the like Occasions. there happen'd one between Agamemnon and Menelaus, of very bad Consequence. One was very earnest to hoist Sail, and be gone immediately, the other was for staying till they had facrific'd to Minerva; hereupon they fell to high Words, and half the Fleet remain'd with Agamemnon, and the rest fail'd to the Island Tenedos, where they no sooner arriv'd, than Diffention arose amongst them also, which carry'd part of them back to Agamemnon; others were dispers'd, each holding his own Course, and the whole Fleet was miserably shatter'd by Storms, which, as the Poets feign, were fent upon them by Pallas.

Amongst those who return'd safe were Nestor and Pyrrhus; Nestor reign'd some Years after his Return at his City Pylus, but Pyrrhus was kill'd in Apollo's Temple at Delphi by Orestes, in Revenge of his having marry'd Hermione, Menelaus's Daughter, notwithstanding her Grandsather Tyndareus had some Years before promis'd her to Orestes. Agamemnon also return'd home to Mycena, but was soon after murder'd by his Wife Clytamnestra, and her Gallant Agisthus, who upon Agamemnon's Death usurp'd his Kingdom, and held it, till Agamemnon's Son Orestes, whom his Sister Electra had privately convey'd to Strophius in Phocis, when he was young,

being grown up reveng'd his Father's Death, by murdering both his Mother, and Agifthus. By this means he recover'd the Kingdom, but with the Guilt of having imbrued his Hands in his Mother's Blood, he run mad, or as the Poets feign, was tormented by the Furies. Menelaus, after he had been toss'd about the Seas, at last ariv'd in Egypt, with his Wife Helena. Herodotus gives a quite different account, concerning Menelaus's Voyage into Egypt, and pretends that he went thither to fetch Helena; the Sum of his account, which he pretends to have receiv'd from the Agyptian Priests, is this; Paris in his Return with Helena, being driven by Stress of Weather upon the Coasts of Agypt, was accus'd of having ravish'd her by some of his Servants, who fled for Sanctuary to a Temple built in Honour of the Agyptian Hercules. Proteus, at that time King of Ægypt, upon Examination finding the Fact to be true, detain'd Helena, and the Goods stoln with her, till her Husband requir'd them; but Paris, being a Stranger, was dismis'd without farther Punishment. When the Grecians therefore demanded Helena, they were answer'd, that she was in Ægypt, but thinking themselves deluded, they carry'd on the War. But when the City was taken, and they perceiv'd that she really had not been at Troy, Menelans fail'd to Agypt to demand his Wife of Proteus. The Argument which Herodotus brings to confirm this, is, that if Helena had been at Troy, it had been mere Madness in Priamus to see so many Miseries befall him during the War, and so many of his Sons kill'd, only to defend Paris in the unlawful Possession of another Man's Wife, fince he was neither Heir to the Kingdom, nor equal in Vertue to many of the rest (2). But this account is contrary to most of the Poets except Euripides, and Lycophron; and Homer is very express

⁽z) Herodot. l. 2. a. c. 113. ad 121.

Book I. The History of GREECE. 79 that Menelaus was driven to Egypt by contrary Winds.

Idomeneus King of Crete also return'd safe home, but was immediately expell'd his Kingdom, for sacrificing his own Son. For, in his Passage from Troy, being toss'd about by a Storm, he made a Vow to sacrifice to the Gods, the first thing he met, which unfortunately happen'd to be his own Son. After his Expulsion he possess'd himself of Salentinum, a Promontory of Calabria, and built a City there. Phi-

loctetes came into Italy, and built Petilia.

Ulysses after he had been toss'd about the Seas ten Years, arriv'd at Home in a very miserable Condition, and not without great Difficulty recover'd his own House, which he found posses'd by a numerous Crowd of Courtiers to his Wife Penelope. Notwithstanding the long Absence of her Husband, which had made her almost despair of ever seeing him again, she had continued very faithful to Ulylles, and preserv'd an inviolable Chastity. After he had kill'd all his Wife's Courtiers, and had reign'd some time in Ithaca, he was forewarn'd by the Oracle that he should be kill'd by his own Son, upon which he retir'd into folitary and remote places, and shun'd, as much as possible, all Converse with Mankind. But all his Caution could not preserve him against Fate, for he was not long after kill'd by his Son Telegonus, whom in his Wanderings he had begat on Circe.

Telegonus being come to Ithaca to see his Father, and, because he was a Stranger, driven from Ulysses's Door, a Quarrel arose, in which Telegonus not knowing his Father, kill'd him with a Spear made of the poisonous Bone of the Fish Tevalor, or Fork fish.

Ajax the Son of Telamon having, in a Contention with Ulysses, lost Achilles's Armour, stab'd himself upon the Coasts of Troy; his Brother Teucer arriv'd at Salamis, and being banish'd by his Father Telamon, who charg'd him with having kill'd Ajax,

fled from thence to the Island Cyprus, where he built a City call'd after his native Country, Salamis.

Ajax, the Son of Oileus having ravish'd Cassandra the Prophetes, Daughter of Priamus, in Pallas's Temple at Troy, the Goddess fir'd his Ships with Thunder, and threw him headlong into the Sea; Ajax himself was drown'd, but most of the Locri, his Companions, made their Escape. Some say Ajax sav'd himself also, but Homer makes him kill'd by Neptune, who intended to have deliver'd him, had he not soolishly boasted that he would escape in De-

fpight of the Gods (a).

Diomedes return'd to Argos, and very narrowly escap'd being murder'd by his Wife Ægiale, whom Venus, in Revenge of the Wound which Diomedes gave her at the Siege of Troy, had punish'd with an insatiable Lust. He having found her too familiar with Cometes the Son of Sthenelus, she attempted to kill him; but he made his escape to Juno's Temple, and afterwards fled into Italy, where Daunus King of Apulia, being besieg'd, desir'd his Assistance, and as a Reward for his Service, promis'd him part of the Country. Diomedes having procur'd Victory for the Daunii, built a City first call'd Argos Hippion, and in following Ages, Argyrippa. Afterwards Daunus gave him the Liberty to choose, either all the Booty which they had taken from the Enemy, or the Country: Alamus, the Bastard Brother of Diomedes, who was in love with Euippe the King's Daughter, being made Arbitrator between them, adjudg'd the Booty to Diomedes, and the Country to Daunus. Diomedes, taking this very heinously, pray'd that the Ground might never bear Fruit, and was afterwards kill'd by Daunus; his Companions who follow'd him, lamenting his Death, were, as the Poets feign, turn'd into Birds very like Swans.

Thus did most of the Grecian Heroes suffer as much Misery, as they had brought upon the Trojans,

⁽a) Homer. Odver. Δ. v. 510.

Book I. The History of GREECE.

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being punish'd by the Gods, either by violent Deaths, or Banishment from their Countries, in Revenge of the many Cruelties, which they had exercis'd upon Troy. With these Calamities therefore which befel them, we shall shut up our first Period, in which notwithstanding, by reason of the perplex'd and various Accounts of Poets and Mythologists, we can hardly discover the least Shadow of Truth, which lies cover'd with the Rust of so many Ages, and disguis'd under the Tales of the extravagant Lusts and Rapes of the Gods, and the no less incredible Adventures of the Heroes, which they begat, yet since they take up so considerable a Space, as Nine Hundred Years, an History of this Nation would very justly seem impersect without some account of them.

Here ends the First Book.

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History of GREECE.

BOOK II.

The Second Period, from the taking of Troy, to the Battle of Marathon, Containing the Space of 700 Years.

pen'd in this Age of Greece, was the Expulsion of the Baoti, from Arne a City of Thessay. This People receiv'd their Name from Baotus the Son of Neptune by Arne, the Daughter of Lolas, the Second of that Name, Son of Hippotes and Grandson to Mimas King of Lolis. Lolus sent his Daughter to Metapontium, where she was deliver'd of Two Sons, Lolus and Baotus; the former possess'd himself of the Islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea, which from him were call'd Lolides, and built the City Lipara. Baotus going to his Grandsather Lolus, succeeded him in his Kingdom, and, from his Mother, call'd the Country Arne, but from himself nam'd the People Baoti (b). It was now about an Hundred Years since their First Settlement

⁽b) Diodor, Sic, Biliothec, Hift. 1.4.

The History of GREECE. Book II.

A. M. in those parts, when they were expell'd by the Theffa-1880. lians, Threescore Years, according to Thucydides, after the taking of Troy. Being driven from Arne they posses'd themselves of that Country, which till that time went under the Name of Cadmeis, and from them receiv'd the Name of Baotia. Thucydides fays there was a Colony of this People here before the Trojan War (c); and both Diodorus and Homer make the Baotians to have affifted at that Siege, under the Conduct of Peneleos, Leitus, Prothoenor, Arcefilaus, and Clonius, Great-Grandsons of Baotus, according to Diodorus's account (d).

About Twenty Years after this, the Heraclida re-A. M. turn'd, and recover'd the Possession of Peloponnesus, whence Eurystheus, that implacable Enemy to Hercutes and all his Race, had expell'd them above an Age before, as has been shewn above. They had an unqueltionable Right to the Kingdom of Argos and Mycene, as being of Perseus's Family. But after the Flight of Amphitryon to Thebes, upon the unfortunate Murder of his Uncle Electryon, Sthenelus usurp'd his fugitive Nephew's Kingdom, and transmitted it down to his Son Eurystbeus; and he dying without Issue, Atreus, the Son of Pelops, and Eurystheus's Uncle by the Mother's side, succeeded him. Thus did the Crown at first pass from the Family of Perseus, into that of Pelops, and had now continued in it above an Hundred Years. The Heraclidae had made several fruitless Attempts to re-establish themselves before the Trojan War; once if not twice under Hercules's Son, Hyllus; again, under Cleadaus the Son of Hyllus, and afterwards under Aristomachus the Son of Cleodaus: Aristomachus lest Three Sons, Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, who, as foon as they were grown up, confulting the Oracle about their Return, receiv'd the same An-Iwer which their Father had before, that they

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⁽c) Thueydides to Diodor, Sic, ut Supra, Homer, Itant. Bi

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should not fail of Success, if they went by the way Stenygrus; which Word being of an ambiguous Signification, Aristomachus thinking the narrow Passage of the Isthmus was meant by it, march'd that way, but his Forces were defeated, and Aristomachus himself kill'd.

Temenus therefore objected to the Pythia the ill Success of his Father; but she answer'd him, that all their Ancestors, by mis-interpreting her Words, had been the Authors of their own Misfortunes that, whereas Hyllus had been commanded to expect the Third Fruit before he attempted to return, he should have expounded it of the Third Generation instead of the Third Crop; and that by Stenygrus, they were not to understand the Isthmus, but the deep Sea on the right Hand of Peloponnesus. Having receiv'd this Answer, they conceiv'd all things now ripe for Execution, and accordingly they built a Navy at a place in Atolia, from this Occafion call'd Naupactus. Whilst their Forces lay at Naupactus, Aristodemus was kill'd by Thunder, and left Two Twins Eurysthenes and Procles, by Argea, the Daughter of Autesion (e). After this a very fatal Calamity befel their Army; there appear'd to them a Prophet, whom Hippotes the Son of Phylas. kill'd, taking him for a Magician, fent on purpose by the Peloponnefians to delude the Army. The Name of the Prophet was Carnus, his Country was Arcanania, and Apollo had taught him the Art of Divination (f). In Revenge of his Death, Apollo afflicted the Heraclidae with very heavy Punishments; their Ships were destroy'd, and a Famine arose in their Army. Temenus, consulting the Oracle, was, answer'd that all these Calamities befel them in Revenge of the Murder of Carnus, which could not be expiated but by the Banishment of him who, kill'd him, and he was farther told that the Hera-

⁽e) Apollador. l. 2. c. 8. Herodot. l. 6. c: 92. (f) Paufanias. in Laconicis. F 3

clide should use the Conduct of a General with Three

Eyes for Two Years.

Hippotes, at the Command of the Oracle was banish'd for Ten Years, and the Heraclida being in quest of their Three-ey'd General, accidentally met one Oxylus an Atolian, the Son of Andramon (g), or according to others of Hamon (h), and Grandfon to Thoas, who affifted Agamemnon and Menelaus at the Siege of Troy (i). Oxylus was now upon his Return from Elis in Peloponnesus to his own Country Ætolia, from whence he had fled about a Year before, having unfortunately kill'd his own Brother Thermius, or as some say, Alcidocus the Son of Scopius. This Man, according to Apollodorus, having but One Eye, and being on Horseback, or as Pausanias relates the Story, riding upon a Mule, which had but One Eye, Cresphontes immediately conjectur'd, that he was the Person intended by the Oracle. The Heraclidæ therefore promising to put him in Possession of Elis, prevail'd with him to be their General. When they had made all the necessary Preparations for this Expedition, they gave out a Report that they would march again through the Isthmus, as they had done before under Aristomachus, by which means the Peloponnesians, expecting their Descent at the Ishmus, left the other parts of the Country naked and defenceless, so that the Heraclida failing up the Stenygrus, as the Oracle had commanded them, landed at Molycrium without any Opposition. Three parts of Peloponnesus they challeng'd as their undoubted Right; Argos, because they were of the Line of Perseus, whereas Tisamenus, the Son of Orestes, and the present King, was of the Family of Pelops, and therefore had no Right to that Crown: Lacedamon, because Hercules had kill'd Hippocoon, by whom Tyndareus had been expell'd from thence, and restor'd the latter to the Kingdom, on Condition

⁽g) Apollodor, l. 2. l. 8. (h) Strabo l. 10, p. 463. (i) Pau-

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that he would keep it for Hercules's Children; and lastly Messenia, because Hercule's having conquer'd that also when he demolish'd the City Pylus, and kill'd all Nestor's Brothers, gave it him out of a pure A& of Grace and Kindness, upon the same Condition that he had establish'd Tyndareus at Lacedamon (k). The Heraclidae not without some Difficulty got Argos into their Hands, and as Apollodorus, fays, kill'd Tisamenus, and on their own fide lost Pamphylus and Dymas, the Son of Agimius (1); but the more probable account is that, Tisamenus escap'd, if we may believe both Pausanias and Strabo. Sparta was betray'd to them by one Philonomus (m), which they enter'd with the Sound of Flutes; having by Experience found that Musick inspir'd the Souldiers with new Courage, and made them keep their Ranks with greater Order than they were wont to do, the Lacedamonians always after us'd that Instrument in founding to Battle (n). Mefsenia they got by Force, driving out all Nestor's Posterity, which were Alemaon the Son of Sillus, and Grandson to Thrasymedes, the Children of Pæon Son to Antilochus, Pisistratus Son to a Father of the fame Name; and together with these Melanthus, the Son of Andropompus. Being expell'd their own Country, all of them, except Pisistratus (and where he went is uncertain) came to Athens, where Alcmæon and Pæon's Children laid the Foundation of Two Families, the Alemaonida and Paonida (0); the former of which in following Ages became One of the most considerable Families in Athens.

The Heraclidæ having recover'd their ancient Country Peloponne fus, perform'd their Promise to Oxylus, and put him in Possession of Elis, the native Country of his Ancestors; for he descended from Ætolus, who being banish'd out of Elis by Salmoneus King of the

⁽k) Pausanias in Argolicis. (1) Apollodor. l. 2. c.8. (m) Strabo, l. 8. p. 365. (n) Polyan. Stratagem. l. 1. c. 10. (o) Pausanias in Argolicis.

Epei and Pisatæ, fled into that Country, which from him was call'd Atolia, where he built many Cities (p). The Epei were now in Possession of Elis, when Oxylus and the Heraclidæ came to demand the Country; both Armies being in the Field, it was agreed, according to the old Grecian Custom, that One on each side should put an End to the War by single Combat; Pyræchmes, an Ætolian Slinger, and Degmenus, an Archer on the Enemy's side, being appointed to Fight, the former obtain'd the Victory, and Oxylus was restor'd to the Kingdom (q).

After this the Heraclidae having rais'd Three Altars to Jupiter Patrius, divided their Conquests by Lot, Temenus for his Share obtain'd Argos, Crefphontes by some Fraud us'd in the Lots, concerning which Authors are not perfectly agreed, got Meffenia, One of the most fruitful parts of Peloponnesus, and Lacedamon fell to Eurysthenes and Procles, the Sons of Aristodemus (r). Temenus being fettled at Argos gave his Daughter Hyrnetho in Marriage to Deiphontes, the Son of Antimachus, who was great Grandson to Hercules by Ctesippus the Son of Hercules, by Deianira the Daughter of Oeneus (s). After this he maintain'd so great a Familiarity with his Daughter and Son-in-law Deiphontes, making him his General in his Wars, and using both their Advice only, in the Administration of the Government, that in Effect he seemed to have forgot that he had any other Children. This Neglect of his other Sons, Agelaus, Eurypylus and Callias, fill'd them with a very just Suspicion that he would transfer the Kingdom from them, to Deiphontes. To prevent therefore any fuch Design they made away with their own Father Temenus, by hiring the Titans, as Apollodorus fays, to murder him (t): but notwithstanding their

⁽p) Ephorus apud Strabon. l. 8. p. 357. (q) Strabo ibid. Paufanias Eliac. 1: (1) Polyan. Stratagem. l. 1. c. 6. Apollodor. l. 2. c. 8. Pausanias in Messenicis. (5) Confer. Apollodor. l. 2c. 7. cum Pausan. in Argolicis. p. 117. (t) Apollodor. l. 2. c. 8.

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unnatural Endeavours to secure their own Succession by the Murther of their Father, they were disappointed of their Hopes, for, as the same Author tells us, the Army adjudg'd the Kingdom to Hyrnetho and Deiphontes; Or, if Pausanias is rather to believed, Cisus, Temenus's eldest Son, obtain'd the Government.

Cresphontes, who had us'd indirect means in getting Messenia, did not long enjoy his usurp'd Dominions; for by too much carefling the People he incurr'd the Hatred of the Nobility, and was murder'd with Two of his Sons; only Agyptus, or rather, as Pau-Janias calls him, Epytus escap'd; he fled to Cypfelus his Grandfather, by the Mother's side, in Arcadia. Here he continued till he was at Age, when by the Assistance of the Arcadians, he reveng'd his Father's Death by killing the Usurper Polyphontes, and recover'd the Kingdom. Epytus, feeing the Mistake his Father had made by too much courting the People, apply'd himself to the Nobility, and by frequent Largesses to the People, kept their Affections firm to him. Thus did he win both the Populacy and Nobility, and obtain'd this Honour, that whereas the Posterity of the Kings were before call'd Heraclida, they were from him nam'd Apytide (u).

As for Lacedamon, that, as has been observed, falling to the Share of the Two Brothers, a Contest arose which of them should obtain the Kingdom, for being Twins, they were so exactly alike, that their own Mother could not distinguish one from the other, and knew not which of them was the Elder. The Lacedamonians therefore made them both Kings, with equal Power and Authority, but Eurysthenes, as 'twas thought, having been always washt and sed first, was generally esteem'd to have been the Elder, and his Family upon that account the more honourable (w). During their Minority

⁽u) Pausanias in Messenicis. (w) Herodot. 1. 6. c, 52.

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Theras their Uncle, by their Mother's side, undertook to be their Guardian, and to manage the Government: In obeying their Uncle the young Princes always agreed, but in nothing else, and this Dissention was in a manner propagated to their Posterity, which continued for many Generations on both sides, under the Names of Eurysthenida and Proclida; but it was never carry'd to such a height, as to produce any Change in the Government, and they may deservedly be esteemed a singular Instance of Partners in Empire and Sovereign Power, that for so long a time kept within the Bounds of Civil Concord.

The Heraclida being now in quiet Possession of Peloponnesus, to be reveng'd on the Athenians, for receiving the Fugitives, whom upon their Descent they had driven out of Peloponnefus, or as Strabo fays, out of a Jealoufy that the Athenians, whose City was now fill'd with infinite Numbers of Exiles from all parts of Greece, would otherwise fall upon them first, carried their Arms into Attica. Amongst the rest that fled to Athens, were the Iones, being driven from their own Seats by Tisamenus and the Achai: They immediately after their Expulsion from Argos and Meffenia, fent to the Iones, then inhabiting Ægialea in Peloponnesus, to desire they might be admitted to live amongst them, vainly alledging their near Relation to them, as being descended from Achaus Brother to Ion, the original Stock from whence the Iones fprung. But they, either out of a Distrust, and Jealousy that Tisamenus, by the Advantage of his Birth, and his own personal Endowments would procure himself to be made King over them, or reflecting on the Danger of admitting a Nation, now grown forreign, rejected their Suit. The Achai therefore, being urg'd by Necessity and Despair, got by Violence what they could not obtain by more peaceable means, and by Force of Arms drove the Iones out of their Territories. Battle Tifamenus was lost, and the Iones from thence pass'd

pass'd into Attica, where they were receiv'd by the Athenians, at the Perswasion of Melanthus then King of Athens. This Man, as we have before observ'd, after he had been driven out of his native Country Messenia, coming with Nestor's Posterity to Athens, found the Athenians and Baotians engag'd in a War about Celena, a frontier Town of Attica. Xanthus King of Baotia, challeng'd the Athenians to decide the Contest by a single Combat, which Thymates the Bastard Son of Oxyntes, who had posses'd himself of the Kingdom of Athens by the Murder of his Brother Aphidas, cowardly declining, Melanthus accepted. When they met to fight, Melanthus cry'd out, Thou doest unjustly, Xanthus, and contrary to our Agreement, who against me alone comes attended with another (x). Xanthus, being furpriz'd, look'd back to fee who was behind him, and Melanthus in the mean time ran him through with his Lance. This Blow put an End to the Theban Kingdom, for after Xanthus's Death, the Regal Power was put into the Hands of many, but whether it immediately devolv'd upon the Nobility or People is not certain. The Athenians, in Memory of this Victory, instituted a folemn Feast call'd' Amaliera, from the Stratagem by which Melanthus obtain'd it (y); and, as a Reward of his Service plac'd Melanthus upon the Throne, in the room of Thymates, whom for his base Cowardise they depos'd, and in him the Line of Thefeus was extinct.

Melanthus was succeeded by his Son Codrus, under A. M. whose Reign the Heraclidæ invaded Attica. The 2918. Oracle having foretold that, that Army which lost it's General, should obtain the Victory, Codrus, out of a tender Regard to the Lives of his Subjects, sought Death with as much Desire and Concern, as the greatest Coward could have avoided it; for, disguising himself in the Habit of a Peasant, he

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⁽x) Frontin. Stratagem. l. 2. c. 5. (y) Polyan. Stratagem. l. 1. 6. 9.

enter'd the Enemies Camp, where having wounded One of the Souldiers, he was himself kill'd in the midst of their Troops. The Enemy, when they knew the Body to be the King's, immediately retir'd without giving the Athenians Battle (z). Some of the Spartans who had enter'd Athens, absconded that Night, but on the Morrow, when the Athenians fell upon them, finding themselves abandon'd by the rest of the Army, fled to Areopagus, and took Sanctuary at the Altars of the Esural Osal, or the Furies, from whence they were dismist without any harm (a).

With this King fell the Athenian Kingdom, after A. M. it had been deliver'd down through a Succession of 2935. Seventeen Kings, Ten from Cecrops to Thefeus, and Seven from him to Codrus. It had now flood from its Foundation by Cecrops about Four Hundred Eighty Seven Years (b), in all which time it does not appear, that the Athenians had felt any fuch Grievances under the Regal Power, as could induce them to alter their Form of Government. But, because they thought no Man worthy to succeed Codrus, instead of Kings they constituted perpetual Governours, call'd Archontes, who held their Authority for Life, and transmitted it to their Posterity. The difference between this and the Regal Power was so inconsiderable, that most Authors have rankt them with the Kings, from whom they only differ'd in this, that they were accountable to the People when ever they requir'd it.

Codrus's Sons, Medon and Nileus, after their Father's Death, contending about the Succession, Nileus the younger reproachfully faid, that he could not Submit to his Brother's Authority, who was lame of One Foot; but the Oracle being confulted gave the Government to Medon (c). He therefore was the First who executed the new Office of Perpetual

⁽²⁾ Justin. 1. 2. (a) Paufanias in Achaicis (b) Castor apud Eu-J.b. in Chronic. (c) Pausanias in Achaicis.

Archon, and from him all his Successors were call'd Medontida.

This Change in the Athenian State was succeeded A. M. by another much greater at Argos. This City had 2940. from it's Foundation by Inachus, been govern'd by Kings, but fuch whose Power was very much restrain'd; for the Argivi, as Panjanias observes, had of old been zealous Affecters of Liberty, and made continual Encroachments upon the Prerogative; but under Cifus's Posterity they gain'd so much ground, that they left little more to their Kings than the bare Name and Title, but the Power and Authority was quite loft. So that when Meltas, the Son of Lacidans, growing impatient of this Restraint, endeavour'd to recover the ancient Prerogative to it's due Bounds, the People not only depriv'd him of the Sovereignty, but condemn'd him to Death (d). Thus was the Monarchy pluckt up by the Roots, for after his Death they could no longer submit to the Authority of a fingle Person. Herodotus indeed mentions One, who long after these times was call'd King of Argos, but that Name signify'd no more than it did in any free Common-wealth, fuch were Athens. Carthage, and Rome, where the Title of King was given to some particular Offices. The chief Power was now devolv'd upon the People, who were divided into Four Tribes, to which the Senate was fubordinate, chosen every Year, to prepare Matters for the whole Body, entrusted with the executive Power, and Anthority to enact Matters of less Consequence. There was also a Council of State, confifting of Eighty Persons, besides inferior Magistrates, and Judges for determining private Causes. We have have no farther Notice concerning the Form of this Common-wealth, which flourish'd many Ages after this Change, and wag'd frequent Wars with the Lacedemonians, and others, which will be describ'd in their proper places.

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⁽d) Pausanias in Argolicis.

Greece being about this time in a perfect Calm and Tranquillity, began to fend out Colonies into forreign parts. The first that shew'd the way were the Holes, and the other People of Greece foon follow'd A. M. their Example. The most famous Instance of this 2960 kind, was that, which went by the Name of the Ionian Transmigration, under the chief Command of the Athenians. Attica, which had for a long time fate fecure, and unmolested with any of the Calamities, which her neighbour Nations had groan'd under, either by Invasion from abroad, or by intestine Commotions at home, was now fo crowded with the Numbers of Exiles, which had fled from other parts, that it was forc'd to discharge it felf in vast Bodies, upon the maritime Coasts of Minor Asia. To this Expedition Nileus, who could not bear to be Subject to his Brother Medon, and the other Sons of Codrus, with many of the Athenians, gave in their Names. The Iones made the greatest Number, and were join'd by the Thebans under the Command of Philotas, Grandson to Peneleos; by the Minga of Orchomenus, by reason of their Relation to the Sons of Codrus; by all the Cities of Phocis, except Delphi, and by the Abantes from Eubaa. The Ather wians furnish'd the Phocenses with Ships, and Philogenes and Damon, the Sons of Euclemon, commanded the Fleet. Upon their Arrival in Afia, they were dispers'd into different Parts, and founded Twelve renowned Cities, viz. 1. Epbesus, 2. Miletus. 2. Priene. 4. Colophon. 5. Myus. 6. Teos. 7. Lebedos. 8. Clazomena. 9. Erythra. 10. Phocaa. 11. Chios in the Island Chios. 12. Samos in the Island of the same Name over against Ephesus, which at first being subject to several little Princes, at length join'd in One Body, and became very famous in after Ages. After this, these Plantations were very frequent, till at length the Grecians had their Colonies almost every where: as at Chalcedon, Byzantium, Syracuse, Massilia, Antipolis, Agatha, Rhodos.

dos; but more especially in Italy, at Tarentum, Brundusium, Neapolis, Rhegium, Crotona, Sybaris, and other places in so great a Number, that all the Tract of Land, which extends from the remotest part of Calabria, up to Campania, went under the Name of Magna Græcia. Thus was the Use of the Greek Language spread into several parts of the World, and the Nation it self encreas'd Two Parts bigger than it was before the Migration of these numerous Colonies.

About the time of the Ionian Transmigration. there fell out some Disturbances at Sparta. Eurysthenes and Procles after they had obtain'd Sparta divided the Country into Six Parts, every One of which they endow'd with all the Privileges of Sparta. the City in which they kept their Court. During Eurysthenes's Reign they enjoy'd their Privileges without any Molestation, but after his Death Agis his Son, and Successor in the Kingdom, not only depriv'd them of all, which his Predecessors had granted them, but impos'd a Tribute upon them. All the other parts of the Country submitted, except the Inhabitants of Helos, a City built by Helius the Son of Perseus (e). But the Lacedemonians coming upon them with an Army, made them Prisoners of War, and reduc'd them to the most miserable Condition of Slavery, making it unlawful for their Masters ever to give them their Freedom, or to fell them out of the Country (f).

Sous, the other King of Sparta, Son to Procles was a very warlike Prince, and added a good part of Arcadia to his Dominions. A Story goes of him, that being besieg'd by the Clitorians in a dry stony place, where he could not possibly have the Convenience of Water, he was at last forc'd to come to a Treaty, by which he oblig'd himself to restore to them all his Conquests, upon Condition that he and

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⁽e) Strabo, 1.8. p. 363. (f) Idem ibid. p. 365.

all his Men should drink of a Spring not far distant from his Camp. After the Oaths and Ratifications generally us'd upon such Occasions, Sous calling his Souldiers together, offer'd the Kingdom for a Reward to him that would forbear drinking. But their Thirst was at that time so much stronger than their Ambition, that not a Man of them could forbear; when they had all drank their fill, Sous himself came, and having sprinkled his Face only, without swallowing One Drop, march'd off in the Face of the Enemy, and refus'd to resign his Conquests, because himself and all his Men, according to the Articles of the Treaty, had not drank of the

Spring (g).

Agis was succeeded by his Son Echestratus, and Sous not long after by his Son Eurytion, otherwise call'd Eurypon, or Euryphon, from whom his Posterity were call'd Eurytionide. This King took a Course never practic'd by his wife Predecessors, which was to flatter and cajole his own Subjects, by flackening the Reins of the Regal Authority. The natural Consequence of which was, that the People, instead of growing more tractable, made new Encroachments upon him every Day; infomuch, that partly by taking Advantage of the too great Easiness or Necellities of the fucceeding Kings, and partly by vexing and tiring out those who us'd Severity, they by Degrees brought the Government into Contempt, and at last into Anarchy and Confusion (b). Under these miserable Circumstances he transmitted the Kingdom to his Son Prytanis, and Labotas the Son of Echestratus, in whose Reign happen'd the First Quarrel between the Argivi and the Lacedamonians. The pretended Grounds of this War was, that the Argivi invaded Cynura, which the Lacedamonians had taken some time before, and endeavour'd to raise a Rebellion amongst the Lacedamonian Confederates;

⁽²⁾ Plutarch, in Lycurgo, & Apothegm. Laconic. (b) Idem in Lycurgo.

but we find nothing remarkable perform'd on either

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Labotas was succeeded by his Son Dorysus, and Prytanis by his Son Eunomus. As for Dory [us, and his Son Agesilaus, who succeeded him, they were fuddenly taken off, but Eunomus liv'd to a good old Age, when endeavouring to quell a Riot, in which the Parties came to Blows, he was stab'd amongst them. Eunomus left Two Sons, Polydectes by a Former, and Lycurgus by a Second Wife, nam'd Dianassa. The Elder succeeded Eunomus in the Kingdom, but he dying foon after without Issue, the Right of Succession remain'd in Lycurgus, who accordingly took the Government upon him, till the Queen his Sister-in-law proving with Child, he immediately declar'd the Kingdom belong'd to her Issue, if it was a Male, and that he would exercise the Regal Authority, only as Guardian and Regent to the Infant, during his Minority. The Queen in the mean time made some secret Overtures to Lycurgus, that she would make her self miscarry, or by fome means or other destroy the Embryo, upon Condition that he would marry her; but he by a feeming Compliance with her Proposals, and such like Artifices, having drawn her on to the time of her Labour, fent some to be present at all that past. She being brought to bed of a Boy, it was presented to Lycurgus whilft he was at Supper with some of the principal Magistrates of Sparta: He taking the Child in his Arms, faid to those who were about him, Behold Tour King, and laying him upon the Chair of State, nam'd him Charilaus, from the Joy that appear'd at his Birth (k). Notwithstanding all stood amaz'd at the Justice and Generosity of Lycurgus, yet there foon appear'd a very confiderable Faction against him, headed by the Kindred and Creatures of the Queen. She pretended not to have been treated

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⁽i) Paufanias in Laconicis, (k) Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

fuitably to her Quality, and her Brother Leonidas told Lycurgus to his Face, that he was well affur'd, that e're long he should see him King. This was insinuated to raise in the People a Jealousy of Lycurgus, and to prepare the way for an Accusation of him, that he had made away with the young Prince, though he should chance to be taken off by a Natural Death. Words of the like Import were industriously spread abroad by the Queen, Lycurgus therefore thought it his wisest Course to cut off all ground of Suspicion by a Voluntary Exile, till his Nephew was married, and had got a Successor; so he left the City after he had held the Government

about Eight Months.

From Sparta he fail'd to Crete, to make his Observations upon the Frame and Constitution of that Common-wealth famous for it's wife and wholfom Institutions. Here he contracted an intimate Friendship with One Thales, a Lyrick Poet, and excellent Lawgiver. Lycurgus therefore fent him to Sparta, where by the Power of his Numbers, which confifted chiefly of Maxims of Morality, he had fuch an Influence upon the Minds of the People, as, in some measure, prepar'd the way for those great Changes which Lycurgus afterwards made in that Kingdom. From Crete he pass'd over into Asia, to examine the Difference between the Manners and Government of the Cretans and Ionians; the former a wife and temperate People, the latter very loofe and effeminate. Here he had the First Sight of Homer's Works, which he transcrib'd and digested into Order, with a Design to carry them into his own Country. There were some Fragments of this excellent Poet, which lay scatter'd before in a few private Hands, yet they were never made publick, nor generally admir'd before Lycurgus's time. That he was in Agypt both the Egyptians, and Grecians are agreed, but as for his Travels into Spain, Africa, and the Indies, and his Conferences there with the Gymnosophists, the Truth of

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Book II. The History of GREECE.

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Lycurgus, tho' he had been fo eafily parted with, was foon miss'd at Sparta, for during his Absence an univerfal Corruption of Manners, and Confusion of Orders and Degrees of Men in the State crept in amongst them. Many Embassies therefore were sent defiring him to return, and always complaining of the present Management of Affairs; insomuch, that those, who had once been most zealous against him, were now not the least forward for his Return; for they lookt upon that, as their only Bulwark against the growing Insolence of the People. Lycurgus after his Return, before he attempted to make any Alterations, consulted the Oracle at Delphi, which gave him that celebrated Answer, in which he was call'd belov'd of God, and rather God than Man: He was farther told, that his Prayers were heard, that his Laws should be the best, and the Common-wealth, which observ'd them, the most famous in the World (1). Notwithstanding, the great Encouragement he had receiv'd from the Oracle, he at first communicated his Design of making any Changes in the Government, only to some particular Friends: but by degrees having gain'd a confiderable Party amongst the principal Nobility, upon the first Opportunity he order'd thirty of them to be ready arm'd in the Market-place by Break of Day, by that means to strike a Terrour into the opposite side. His Nephew Charilaus the King, who was now grown up, fearing that some Conspiracy was carrying on against him, took Sanctuary in the Temple of Minerva Chalciacus, but Lycurgus and his Accomplices having folemnly fwore that they had no treasonable Designs, Charilaus quitted his Refuge, and himself also enter'd into a Confederacy with them.

Thus far Matters succeeded beyond Lycurgus's Expectation, nevertheless he thought his Laws

⁽¹⁾ Herodot, l. I. c. 65. Plutarch, in Lycurgo.

would take deeper Root in the Minds of the People, if they were confirm'd by the Authority of Religion. Wherefore, having heard that Minos pretended to have receiv'd his Laws from Jupiter, with whom he convers'd in a Cave, Lycurgus refolv'd to make the fame Use and Advantage of the Delphian Oracle, which gave him the famous Rhetra, or fundamental Statute on which he form'd, and erected his Commonwealth. The Oracle or Rhetra ran thus; After you have built a Temple to Jupiter the Syllanian, and Minerva the Syllanian, and divided the People into Tribes, you shall establish a Council of thirty Senators, of which number shall be the two Kings, and shall from time to time call an Affembly betwixt Babyca and Cnacion, where the Senate Shall propound things to the Commons, who shall not debate upon, but only give or refuse their Assent to, what is propos'd; and it Chall be in the Power of the Senate to dissolve the Allembly.

Before Lycurgus's time, the most ancient Government of Sparta, was in the Hands of a single Person, whose Power, as in the other States of Greece, was not restrain'd by any fixt or certain Laws. Thus it continued till the Descent of the Heraclidae, after which two Kings were invested with equal Authority, and it doth not appear that there were any other Magistrates, who pretended to a Share in the supreme Power. Tis true, there were Magistrates, whose Assistance or Advice the Kings made use of in their Administration of the Government, but they were such as the Kings themselves created, and

were obnoxious to them alone (m).

This was the ancient Power of the Kings, but Lycurgus, observing that hitherto the State had no firm Foundation to stand upon, sometimes leaning towards an absolute Monarchy, when the Kings made any Encroachments, and at others, towards 2

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⁽m) Cragius de Rep. Lacedam. l. t. c. 4.

pure Democracy, especially in later Reigns, fince the People were grown so insolent, establish'd a Senate confisting of Twenty-eight Persons, which was to hold Matters in a just Aquilibrium, by putting themselves, like a Weight, into the lighter Scale, till they had reduc'd the other to a Ballance. have imagin'd a Mystery in the determinate number Twenty-eight, Aristotle is of Opinion that Lycurgus fixt upon that Number, because two of his Associates flew off from the Enterprize; but the most probable account is that of Plutarch, who thinks, that Lycurgus intended no more by it, than with the two Kings, to make the whole number compleat Thirty. The first that were admitted into this Order, were those who affisted Lycurgus in producing these Changes in the Government. These Senators were to continue for Life, unless they were found guilty of any Crimes worthy of Seclution, for he thought it not fafe for the Common-wealth to have too frequent a Change of them, lest the Kings should improve it to their own Advantage. Their places he order'd to be fill'd by the best and most deserving Men in the City, not under Three-score Years Old; and by this means it was look'd upon as a Reward to Oldmen, for their eminent Virtues, and Services to the Government, and an Encouragement to Young-men, to deserve well of the State.

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Their manner of electing Senators was this; the People being call'd together, some Persons deputed by the Senate were lock'd up in a Room near the place of Election, which was so contriv'd that they could neither see, nor be seen either by the Competitors or the People, but only hear the Noise of the Assembly without: for they decided this, as most other Assairs of Moment, by the Shouts of the People. The Competitors being brought in, and presented one after another, as their Lot sellout, pass'd through the Assembly without speaking a word; in the mean time those, who were lock'd

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up, set down upon writing Tables, the number and greatness of the Shouts, and he that was found to have the most and loudest Acclamations, was de-

clar'd Senator duly elected (n).

In this Senate was lodg'd the supreme Authority, for they had in effect the whole executive Power in their Hands. This was the supreme Court of Judicature, however it was lawful in some Cases to appeal from them to the People, but they thmeselves were not liable to give an account for any of their Resolutions. This Immunity, together with their suing to the People for their places, which ought to have been fill'd with able and honest Men, who were to be sought, and enquir'd after, and not with such as offer'd themselves, is, amongst other things,

very much blam'd by Aristotle (o).

The two Kings he left, as he found them, in the same Right of Succession, but their Power very much clog'd by this new Establishment of the Senate. They had the chief Seat indeed, spake their Minds, and gave their Votes first, as being principal Members of it, but could conclude and determine nothing of Moment without the consent of the Major part; All Magistrates rose up, and did them Reverence, as they enter'd into the Assemblies, To the Kings belong'd the Care of the Sacrifices, and some other Religious Performances; they fent the Pythii, two of whom constantly attended them, to consult the Oracle of Apollo Pythius, at Delphi, upon emergent Occasions; gave Answers to Ambassadors; were Judges in the Causes of Heiresses, and had the Care of Adoptions, insomuch that none could be made without them; in a word, their Office extended even to the mean Employment of feeing the High-ways repair'd. This was their Condition at home, which amounted to little more than a bare Name and Title of King, but abroad they

⁽n) Plutarch, in Lycurge. (o) Politic. l. 2. c. 7.

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were less ty'd up and restrain'd. They were Generals of the Armies, which were left to their abfolute Command, fo that no Council of War, nor any in Commission could thwart or contradict their Orders, which they receiv'd only from the State, to whom alone they were Accountable. They were accompanied to the War by Judges, a General of the Horse, four Polemarchi, and other inferiour Officers, whose Advice and Assistance they might use at their pleasure, for they were at their own disposal, and obnoxious to none of them. What has been faid of the Kings must be extended to their Protectors, Guardians, or Tutors during their Minority, by the Lacedæmonians call'd Hebsinos, who were always chosen out of the nearest Relations by the Father's fide, and confequently the next Heirs to the Crown, as appears by the Examples of Lycurgus himself, Aristodemus and Pausanias. was intended, that their near Hopes, might be in some measure allay'd by part of the Burden of the Government; This, with very good Reason, was never admitted into any other Common-wealth, for it was no great piece of Policy to throw in their way, fuch a Temptation of affecting and keeping the Government, yet they were very rarely found false to their Truit.

Whatever the Kings lost, the People got little by the Change, for they were lest out of all Employment in the Affairs of State, and whereas before they had but two Masters, they were now subject to Thirty. There were two Assemblies of the People, one, which consisted only of the Spartans, or Inhabitants of the City, was call'd the small Assembly; the other, to which was summon'd the whole Body of the Lacedamonians, who were free of the Commonwealth, was term'd the greater Assembly, or simply Example. Both these Assemblies were held between the River and the Bridge, for the Words Babyca, and Cnacion in the Rhetra, are thus explain'd by Aristotle

Aristotle (p). The place where they met was not any spacious Hall, adorn'd with Statues and Pictures, and the like usual Ornaments of those places, amongst the other Grecians, but in the open Air, where nothing appear'd to obstruct Business, or divert their Minds from the Matter before them. When they came together, their Power was very small and inconsiderable, for they could neither give their Opinion nor Advice, neither speak nor debate, but only approve or reject what was propos'd to them: They had not the were either of assembling or adjourning themselves, but met and departed, as they were call'd, or dissolv'd by the Senate.

However, the little Power of the People was, in some measure recompene'd by the Equality of Possellions, which he introduc'd amongst them. Many in the late troublesome Times having raked together great Estates, the City was over-charg'd with a Multitude of Poor and Necessitous Persons. whilst the Money and Lands were engross'd by a few. Lycurgus therefore refolv'd to make a new Division of their Lands, and though this was certainly an Attempt of the utmost Hazard, yet by his prudent Management it was brought to an happy Isflue. Having taken an exact Survey of all Laconia, he divided it into 30000 equal Shares, 9000 whereof he distributed amongst the Citizens, and the rest amongst the Inhabitants of the Country. Some Authors say he made but 6000 Lots for the Citizens, and that Polydorus added 3000 more: Others, that Polydorus doubled the Number Lycurgus had made, which according to them was but 4500. Each of these was so much as would yield one Year with another about 70 Bushels of Grain for the Master of the Family, and 12 for his Wife, with a suitable Proportion of Wine and Oil.

⁽p) Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

The next thing he did, was the Alteration of their Coin; he cry'd down all Gold and Silver, and instead of that coin'd a fort of Money made of Iron. of which a great Weight and Quantity was but very little worth: so that an inconsiderable Sum would fill a large Room, and could not be remov'd but by a Yoke of Oxen. In the next place, he banish'd all Arts which were not of absolute Use and Neceffity; but these, without any Prohibition, would certainly have follow'd their Gold and Silver. By the fame means all Trade and Commerce was effectually flopt, for they could not buy any thing abroad, neither did Merchants think it worth their While to bring their Goods into any Port of Laconia, because their Coin was only current amongst themselves, and laugh'd at and despis'd by the other Grecians.

Another, and that One of the most masterly Strokes of this excellent Philosopher, was the Ordinance, in which he commanded that all their Meals should be eaten in a publick Hall, and that they should all eat in common of the same Meat, and of fuch kinds as were specified in the Decree. These were call'd visina, from a Word which fignifies Parfimony, because they were so many Schools of Sobriety; or oinflie, Feasts of Love, because by Eating and Drinking together they had Opportunities of contracting Friendship. They met by Companies of Fifteen or thereabouts. All that were admitted into these little Societies underwent this Probation. Each Man of the Company took a little Ball of foft Bread, and, if he lik'd the Person who was to be chosen, drop'd it into a Basin, without altering the Figure; or if he dislik'd him, press'd it between his Fingers, and this was the same with a Negative Voice. If there was but One flat piece in the Basin, the Candidate was rejected, for they were very tender of disgusting any Member, by admitting an unacceptable Person. Each of the Company was bound to bring in monthly a Bushel of Meal, Eight Galons of Wine,

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Five Pounds of Cheese, Two Pounds and a half of Figs, and a little Money to buy Flesh and Fish withall. Besides this, when any of them made a Sacrifice to the Gods, they always sent a Dole to the Common-Hall; or when they had been Hunting, part of the Venison, which they had kill'd: and these Two were the only allowable Excuses for Supping at home. Their principal Dish was a sort of black Broth, upon which the Elder chiefly sed, leaving the Flesh to the Younger Men. After they had eaten and drank moderately, every Man went home without Lights, the Use of them being forbidden, that they might accustom themselves to march

boldly in the dark.

The chief and most important Work of a Lawgiver Lycurgus thought was a due Care of their Youth, the future Weal, or Misery of any State depending very much upon their good or bad Edu-The rest of his Laws therefore chiefly relate to that, but in One respect he perhaps went farther than any Law-giver before him, which was to provide for their good Conception and Birth. To this end he regulated their Marriages, and order'd that Virgins should not be married under Twenty Years old at least, and the young Men under Thirty, upon this Consideration, that the Fruit, sprung of Parents in the Prime and Vigour of their Age, must necessarily spread it self into strong and healthy Bodies. As he had fixt a Term of Years, before which he permitted none to marry, so did he another also, beyond which it was unlawful for any Man to live fingle. Concerning this, both Plutarch, and Xenophon are wholly filent, but, as may be easily conjectur'd from Plato, who in forming his Common-wealth, feems in many things to have follow'd the Spartan as his Model, all Men were requir'd to marry when they arriv'd at the Five and Thirtieth Year of their Age (q). Those that con-

⁽⁹⁾ Plato de Leg. 1.4. p. 835. & 1.6. p. 870.

tinued single after this, were not only fin'd, but were punish'd with the utmost Disgrace. In the midst of Winter the Magistrates commanded them to walk naked round the Market-place, finging Verses made in ridicule of themselves, for having disobey'd the Laws. Besides this they were depriv'd of that respect which the young Men paid to the Elder, and were laugh'd at, and insulted by the very Children. Their way of Marriage, as it is describ'd by Plutarch, looks more like a Rape, than a lawful Contract: She who manag'd the Wedding, First came, and shav'd close the Hair of the Bride, dress'd her in Man's Cloaths, and left her in the dark upon a Bed. After this in came the Bride-groom, in his every Day Cloaths, fober and compos'd from the onsilia, stealing, as privately as he could, to his Bride, unty'd her Virgin-zone, and took her into his Embraces. Then with as much Secrecy as he came, he return'd to his Apartment, to the rest of his Companions, with whom he us'd to fpend the Day and Night; and in this manner they liv'd a long time, insomuch that they frequently had Children by their Wives, before they faw their Faces by Day-light. Their Interviews being thus rare and difficult, not only exercis'd their Temperance, but very much further'd the Ends and Intention of Marriage. For by these short Absences their Passions were kept alive, so that they always parted with Regret, and came together with the strongest Desires.

Thus he set Modesty as a Sentinel over the Marriage-bed, his next Business was to find out a Remedy against that wild Passion, Jealousy, and the best Expedient he could think of for it, was a free and promiscuous Use of one another's Wives. He thought it very commendable for an old Man, who had a young Wise, to recommend some vertuous, handsom young Man, by whom she might have a Child to inherit the good Qualities of such a Father; and that that, on the other hand, an honest Man, who loved a married Woman upon the account of her Modesty, and the Beauty of her Children, might without Indecency ask a Night's Lodging of her Husband.

As for their Children, they were carry'd, as foon as they were born, to a place call'd Aign, where some of the gravest Men of the Parent's Tribe, who were purposely appointed for this Business, carefully view'd them; if they found them strong and healthy, they order'd them to be brought up, and allotted to each of them One of the 9000 Shares of Land abovemention'd, for their Maintenance: but if any of them were weak or deform'd, they were thrown into a deep Cavern near the Mountain Taygetus; for they thought it neither for the Good of the Child it felf, nor of the Common-wealth, that it should be brought up. For the same Reason the Women did not, as in all other Countries, bathe their new-born Children in Water, but in Wine; for they had a Conceit, that weak Children would fall into Convulsions, or faint away in this fort of Bath, and that strong and healthy Bodies would, like Steel in the quenching, grow more firm and hardy. Their Nurses were so careful and experienc'd, that without using any Swadling Bands, their Children grew streight and well proportion'd: besides this, they us'd them to any fort of Meat, and fometimes to bear the want of it; they often left them alone, and in the dark, fo that they did not cry, were not so way-ward and peevish, as they generally are in other Countries, through the impertinent Care and Fondness of those who look to them.

When they were Seven Years old, they were enroll'd into little Bands, under the Command of a Lad of the same Years: He was their Captain in all their Exercises, and upon him they had their Eyes always fixt; and either obey'd his Orders, or underwent whatever Punishment he inflicted. As for Learning, they had no more of it, than what was absolutely necessary, all the rest of their Discipline being chiefly defign'd to make them eafily governable, to inure them to Labour, and to shew them the way to Victory. Therefore as their Years encreas'd, their Exercises in proportion did so too: their Heads were shav'd, they were accustom'd to go barefoot, and for the most part to play naked. When they were Twelve Years old, they no longer wore double Coats, one plain Garment ferv'd them a whole Year; they were very careless and slovenly, and very rarely bath'd, or perfum'd themselves. Their Lodging, all the Year round, was on Beds of Rushes. which grew upon the Banks of the River Eurotas, and in the hardest Winter they only mingled the Down of Thistles with their Rushes to keep them warm.

There was always one of the gravest and most prudent Men in the City, to whom was committed the Charge of the Youth. He had the full Power of calling them together, and punishing them for any Misdemeanours, and from hence had the Name of na-Forbu . Either he himself in Person, or one of the chief Magistrates deputed by him, was always prefent at their Exercises. He rang'd them into little Troops, over each of which he appointed Captains out of those, who were the most active and lively Youths, about Twenty Years old: These were call'd Eigeres, those about Eighteen, Mendeperes, who would shortly be Bigeres. Their Meals were very short, for they were allow'd no more than what was sufficient to fatisfy the present Cravings of Nature. In this Lycurgus had a double End, one was, that they might be accustom'd to the want of Victuals, and by that means more eafily bear it, when any Necessity requir'd: the other was, that they might grow taller, for Bodies, which are constantly fill'd with plentiful Meals, generally spread into Breadth and Thickness, and become gross and unwieldy. What they had above their ordinary Allowance they were forc'd to

steal, and he permitted them not only to steal Victuals, but any thing else which they had a mind to : by this means they learnt to cast about for themfelves in times of Danger, or in any adventurous Action. If they were taken in the Fact, they were whipt most unmercifully at the Altar of Diana Orthia, not for any Dishonesty that was thought to be in the Theft, but because they were discover'd; and they endur'd their Punishment with fo much Constancy, that they frequently died under the Strokes without complaining. This gave them a wonderful Fineness and Cunning in their Art, but made them very fearful of being taken: Plutarch mentions an Instance of a Boy, who having stoln a young Fox, and hid it under his Coat, had his Bowels torn out, and died upon the place, rather than he would discover it.

After they had supp'd the Eiglw order'd one of them to sing a Song, to another he put a Question, as for Instance, Who was the best Man in the City? What he thought of such an Action of such a Man? To which if they did not give a quick and rational Answer, their Thumbs were bit by the Eiglw, who is he was either too severe, or too remiss in punishing them, was himself call'd to an Account by the old Men and Magistrates that were present. But this was done after his Scholars were dismiss'd, lest it

The Education of their young Women, was very agreeable to that of their Boys. For the Virgins underwent as severe Discipline as the young Men, and were us'd to Wrestling, Running, Shooting, throwing the Discus, and the like manly Exercises, to fit them for the Marriage-bed, and render them more able to endure the Pains of Child-bearing. But in some Respects they were allow'd greater Liberty, which was not altogether free from Suspicion of Unchastity. This has afforded Poets Matter for their Raillery; For the Habit which they wore reacht no lower than their Knees, and was open

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on both fides, so that as they walk'd their Thighs appear'd bare. This gave them such Confidence, that when they were marry'd, they not only bore the greatest Sway at home, but also gave their Votes

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Another very odd Institution he made in Relation to both Sexes, enough to have shockt the Impudence of the most harden'd Strumpets, but whether by Custom grown familiar, or by what other Cause is uncertain, was esteem'd, if we may believe Plutarch, no breach of Modesty, nor an Incentive to brutish Lust, but only an Innocent Bait to draw young Men into a married State. By this Law the young Men and Virgins, were order'd to dance naked at their Solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, in which the Virgins us'd to fing whilft the young Men stood in a Ring about them: in their Songs they gave a Satyrical Glance upon those who had not behav'd themselves well, and bestow'd large Encomiums upon those, who had fignaliz'd themselves in the Wars. As this excited the One to go on in the Pursuit of Glory, so the others were more sensibly affected by it, than by the most grave and severe Reprimand, especially because the King and whole Court faw, and heard all that past.

Thus far we have feen his Institutions relating to the younger fort of both Sexes; and as for those who were full grown, they were not wholly exempt from Discipline. So that the whole City resembled a great Camp, in which every Man had his proper Station, and his Share of Provision, and Business allotted him. No Man was allow'd to live after his own Fancy, they who had nothing else to do went to see the Lads perform their Exercises, to teach them something useful, or learn it themselves of those who knew better. All mean or mechanical Employments being prohibited them, they had little Business; for their Helotæ, or publick Slaves, till'd their Ground and paid them in Yearly a constant

Revenue, without any Trouble to them. So that all their time, except when they were in the Field. was taken up in Dancing, Feafting, in their Exercifes, and Hunting Matches, or Places where good Company us'd to meet. Those who were under thirty Years of Age, were not allow'd to go into the the Market-place, but had the Necessaries of their Families supply'd by the Care of their Relations and Lovers: The old Men were very rarely feen there, for it was esteem'd more creditable for them to frequent the Academies and places of Conversation, where they discours'd agreeably upon the most

weighty Affairs of State.

In their Discourse there was nothing vain and impertinent, it was enliven'd with a touch of inoffenfive Raillery, and their very Jests were grounded upon some considerable Sense. In this point of good Breeding the Lacedamonians excell'd all the other Grecians, that they could Droll without reflecting, and Jest at the Expence of no Man's Reputation, and if any was out of Humour, or could not bear those innocent Freedoms, upon the least Hint no more was faid to him. What is here faid of the elder Men may be apply'd to their very Children, for by an early Exercise of their Wit, and Reason, they acquired fuch a prefence and quickness of Mind, as to give very furprizing Answers. Their very Songs had fuch Life and Spirit in them, as enflam'd Men's Minds with a Defire to perform great Actions, the Style of them was plain and without Affectation, the Subject always ferious and moral, and for the most part in Praise of them who had died in Defence of their Country, or in Derision of those who would not venture their Lives in so good a Cause. In these they talk'd high of what Feats they would do or had done, and vaunted themselves as the most valiant People in the World: the Expression was different and suitable to their several Ages. Upon their solemn Festivals they made three Choruses, the first

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Book II. The History of GREECE. 113 confisting of old Men, the second of young, and the last of Children.

These were his Institutions, which relate to the feveral Ages of his Subjects, in the time of Peace: in the time of War, their usual Severities were abated, they had costly Arms and fine Cloaths, and were fuffer'd to curl, and perfume their Hair; therefore when they came to be well-grown Lads. they took a great deal of Care of it, had it parted and trimm'd, especially against a Day of Battle, purfuant to a Saying of their Lawgiver, that a large Head of Hair fet off a good Face, and made an ugly one more dreadful. When they were in the Field. their Exercises were generally more moderate, their Fare was not so hard, nor so strict an Hand held over them by their Officers. So that the Lacedamonians were the only People in the World, to whom War gave Repose. Before a Battle the King sacrific'd a She-goat, the Soldiers in the mean time being crown'd with Garlands, and the Flutes playing the Hymn to Caftor. Their Flutes had a foft and eafy Tone, and were the only Instruments the Spartans us'd in their Wars. These inspir'd them, not with that Heat, and Rage, which the Trumpet, and fuch Instruments, rais'd amongst the rest of the Grecians, but with a cool, and fedate Courage, which was always remarkable in the Spartan Armies, and wrought out fo many furprizing Victories. When the Hymn was ended, the King himfelf advancing forward began the Pacan, which ferv'd for a Signal to fall on. It was at once a delightful, and terrible Sight to fee them march on to the Tune of their Flutes, without confounding their Ranks, or betraying the least Disorder in their Countenance. And here it may not be amis to observe, that by one, and that the most politick Article of the Rhetra, it was expresly forbidden to wage War too often, and too long with the fame Enemy, left by forcing them to defend themselves, they should at length teach them to be the Aggressors. There H

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There are other Laws of Lycingus very much commended by Ancient Writers, such was that concerning Burials. By this Law he cut off all Superflition of Burying-places, he allow'd them to bury their Dead within the City, and even round about their Temples, to the end that their Youth might be us'd to such Spectacles, and not be afraid to see a dead Body, nor think themselves defil'd if they toucht a Corpse, or trod upon a Grave. He commanded them to bury their dead only in a red Garment, and to put nothing into the Ground with them, except a few Branches or Leaves of Olive: He would not suffer the Names of the Dead to be inscrib'd upon their Graves, except of those Men, who died in the Wars, and Women who led a vertuous Life. The time appointed for Mourning lasted but eleven Days, and on the twelfth they facrific'd to Ceres, after which no Signs of Grief were to be feen.

Another Law he made, which forbad his Subjects to travel into forreign Countries, and to receive Forreigners into their City. For he thought that either way they could learn little more than forreign Vices, and Vanities, and that feeing new Fashions in Matters of less Consequence, would in time beget a Desire of them in greater. Strange Persons commonly have strange Discourse, that insensibly instills new Thoughts and Opinions, which very frequently produce Innovations in a Government.

There is another Law, but whether it was made by Lycurgus is disputed, which was very cruel, and repugnant to common Justice and Honesty. Aristotle charges him with it, but Plutarch endeavours to vindicate him from so inhuman an Institution. This was the secret Ordinance call'd the Kevalia, by which those, who had the Governance of the Youth, were oblig'd, at some certain times, to dispatch the prime of their young Men into the Country. These taking with them necessary Provisions, and being arm'd only

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only with Daggers, lay close all the Day in the Thickets and Clifts; but in the Night, iffuing out into the High-ways, kill'd all the Helota, that fell into their Hands. Sometimes also they set upon them by Day, as they were at work in the Fields, and murder'd them in cold Blood. Once it happen'd that a good Number of them being crown'd by Proclamation, enfranchis'd for their good Services, and led about to all the Temples in token of Honour, on a suddain disappear'd, being about two thousand, and no Man either then or fince could give any Account, what was become of them. Aristotle adds, that the Ephori, when they enter'd upon their Office, declar'd War against them, that they might be massacred with a Pretence of Law. It is confess'd on all Hands that the Spartans treated them with very great Severity. They frequently made them drunk, and then led them into their Publick halls, that their Children might fee what a contemptible, and beaftly Sight a Man was in that Condition. Besides this they forc'd them to dance uncomely Dances, and fing ridiculous Songs; for they thought any thing ferious was not to be profan'd by their Mouths. For this reason, when the Thebans, invading Laconia, took a great Number of the Helotæ Prisoners, they could not perswade them to sing the Odes of Terpander, Aleman or Spendon, because those were their Masters Songs. Upon which Plutarch observes, that in Sparta he who was free had the most Freedom, and he that was a Slave, the greatest Slave in the World.

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Thus we have taken a short View of the Spartan Common-wealth, as it was reform'd, and establish'd by Lycurgus. Some are of Opinion that he borrow'd many of his Laws from Minos, and that he form'd the Spartan after the Model of the Cretan Commonwealth; and this is not improbable, since, as has been shewn above, Lycurgus had travell'd into that Island. The first and chief Resemblance which appears between

tween these two States is the Senate, and Assembly of the People. For as in Sparta, fo in Crete also the Senate was establish'd as a Bridle to the Regal Authority, and had the Supreme Power lodg'd in their Hands. In Crete the Senators were chosen out of those, who behav'd themselves well in the Office of the Cosmi, continued for Life, and were not liable to be call'd to Account. As for the Assembly of the People, in which all Members of the Common-wealth had equal Votes, its Power was only to confirm what was propos'd by the Senate. Besides this there was a very great Similitude between them in the Education of their Children. For as hath been observ'd concerning the Spartan, so the Cretan Lawgiver, intending to introduce a frugal, and parfimonious way of living amongst his Subjects, enacted that the Boys should live together in Companies call'd Anna, and when they were grown up to Men's Estate, in others call'd Suailia, from their eating together, or Ardpeia, from their Manhood: So, that, their Meals being always eaten in publick, the Poor liv'd in equal Condition with the Rich.

In Crete the Boys took their Meat altogether on the ground, were meanly cloath'd, and wore the same Habit both Winter and Summer: they us'd to quarrel and fight with one another both with their single Hands unarm'd, and with Weapons too upon certain Days, and had those who exercis'd them in Shooting, and a warlike fort of Dance invented by Cures, call'd supprize (r), as also in certain Rythms, properly call'd Rythmi Cretici, compos'd by Thales (s). The younger Sort were forbidden to make any Enquiry into the Equity or Reasonableness of the Laws, and the Elder were to have Recourse to the Magistrates, or their own Equals. But that the Laws might be engraven on their Memories, the Boys when they were taught to read, us'd to get

⁽r) Concerning the Muppin see at large in Meursius's Orchestra.
(s) Strabe, l. 10. p. 480.

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fome of them by Heart, being put into Nerse, and fer to Musical Notes. All of them, when ripe in Years, were commanded to marry for the Propagation of legitimate Iffue: but to prevent too numerous a Stock of Children, they were allow'd in the unnatural Ufe of Boys. and bliss gored sloped and is vid

This is very justly blam'd both by Plato, and Aristotle: and Lycurgus, though he did not transcribe fuch an abominable Practice into his Commonwealth. yet did permit the Love of Boys fo far as was confiftent with Modesty. It is a thing remarkable that at Sparta their Lovers had a Share in the young Lad's Honour or Difgrace: and there goes a Story that one of them was fin'd by the Magistrates, because the Lad, whom he lov'd, cried out effeminately as he was fighting. This innocent fort of Love was so common amongst them, that the most stay'd and virtuous Matrons would publickly own their Passion to a modest and beautiful Virgin And though feveral Fancies met in one Person, yet this did not breed any Strangeness or Jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendship, whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved Boy or Virgin the most accomplisht in the World.

Another very near Resemblance between these two Republicks appears in their publick Slaves: the Spartan Helota differ only in name from the Cretan Perioci, fo call'd from their living about the Country: both of them till'd the Ground, and alike paid a constant Revenue to the rest as their Lords, and Masters. However in this the Cretans had the Advantage, that being Islanders, the Pericei had no Neighbours to hold Correspondence with, and were not capable of railing Seditions; whereas the Spantans, being upon the Continent, and surrounded by Enemies on all hands, the Helotæ, by joining with the neighbouring Cities, had too frequent Opportunities

of bringing the State into extream Danger.

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These are the chief Instances in which Lycurgus feems to have borrowed from the Cretan Lawgiver. The only thing that remain'd, was to provide that this Form of Government should be deliver'd down unchangeable to Polterity. To this Purpofean Affembly of the People being call'd, he administer'd an Oath to the two Kings, the Senate, and the Commons, that they would all inviolably observe his Ordinances during his Absence, and then set sail for Delphi. Having facrific'd to Apollo, and askt him, whether he approv'd of his Laws, the Oracle answer'd that they were excellent, and that the People, which observ'd them, should live in Happiness and Renown. Lycurgus took the Oracle in Writing, and fent it over to Sparta; after this having facrific'd a fecond time to Apollo, he took his Leave of his Friends, and kill'd himself by a total Abstinence from Meat, that the Spartans might never be releas'd from their Oath.

Thus died this excellent Lawgiver, who was a Man of admirable Wisdom, Justice and Moderation. These Virtues appear'd very eminently in him through the whole Course of his Life, but more particularly remarkable, in his not only refifting the wicked, and unjust Solicitations of the Queen his Sister, but voluntarily descending from the Condition and publick Character of a King, to that of a private Person. The wonderful Change, which he wrought in the Spartan State, and particularly the Division of their Lands, was such an Attempt, as few Men would have had Courage to have undertaken, and fewer Prudence to have accomplish'd without involving their Country in those Troubles and Confufions which generally follow great Innovations. This was the main Basis and Foundation upon which the Thole Fabrick of his Common wealth was built. As for his particular Laws, some of them were directly repugnant to the common Principles of Justice and Religion. Such were those which permitted Theft

Theft, and Adultery, and though he indulg'd them in the former for Reasons above-mention'd, and the latter was design'd as a Remedy against the Torment, and Pain of Jealoufy, yet in any other civiliz'd State, they would have been lookt upon as worfe than the Difease they were intended to cure; fince they directly tended to the utter Subversion of all civil 80ciety. Notwithstanding, whoever takes a Prospect of the different Estate of Sparta, before Lycurgus's Laws were made, whilst they continued in full Force, and when they began to be difus'd; and compares it with that of the neighbouring Cities Argos, and Meffene, cannot fufficiently admire the great Wildom of the Lawgiver, and the exact Agreeableness of his Laws to the Genius of the Spartan Nation.

These three States in their first Rise, after the Descent of the Heraclida, were equal; or, if there were any Advantage, it lay on the fide of Argos and Messene. But after Lycurgus had new model'd, and reform'd the Spartan State, it foon gain'd Ground of its neighbouring Cities; for they were still torn, and divided by continual Factions, the very Seeds of which Lycurgus had utterly destroy'd in his Common-wealth, which, fo long as it observ'd his Laws, encreas'd every Day in Reputation, and Power both at home, and abroad. So that by degrees Sparta was lookt upon as the Sovereign State, and Protectress of the inferior Cities, against the Infults of more Powerful Neighbours, and the chief Bulwark of the common Liberty of Greece, against the ambitions Designs of the strongest Powers from abroad. But on the Contrary, it no sooner departed from his Institutions, than it forfook its Virtue too, after which the whole Frame of the Government very fenfibly shook, and at length from the chief Command in Greece, was reduc'd to the very Point of Ruin.

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Lycurgus left only one Son nam'd Antiorus, who dying without Issue, his Family was extinct: His Friends and Relations kept an Annual Commemoration of him, and the Days of the Feaft were from him call'd Lycurgida. Besides this, the Spartans built a Temple to him, and worshipt him as a God, yet Aristotle thinks they did him less Honour than he deserv'd. There is a Report, that after his Relicks were brought home, his Tomb was struck with Thunder: but Ariffocrates, the Son of Hipparchus, fays, that dying in Crete, he defired the Cretans to burn his Body, and to cast the Ashes into the Sea: lest his Relicks being transported to Sparta, the Lacedemonians should think themselves releas'd from their Oath. Timeus, and Aristoxenus also agree that he died in Crete, and the latter fays that his Tomb was to be feen close by the High-way in a Town call'd Pergamia (t). Allow of one to insoled

After the Death of Lycurgus, the Spartans were presently in Action, and under the Conduct of their King Charilaus, invaded the Argivi, and wasted their Country with Fire and Sword. What was the Iffue of this Expedition is uncertain, but not many Years after, under the same King, they made an Attempt upon Tegea in Arcadia. The City being now well tockt with Youth train'd up, as it were, in a perpetual State of War, according to Lycurgus's Institutions, could no longer forbear disturbing their Neighbours, and in their own Ambitious Thoughts had already swallow'd up all Arcadia. But having receiv'd an ambiguous Answer from the Oracle at Delphi, which told them they should not be Masters of all Arcadia, and, as they interpreted it, promis'd them Tegea, they marcht against that. Being deluded by the doubtful Answer of the Oracle, they were so secure of Victory, that they carried Chains along with them to bind their Enemies, but instead of

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⁽t) Plutarch, in Lycurgo.

this, they were themselves taken Prisoners, and bound with their own Chains, and as the Oracle had foretold, measur'd the Ground with a Rope. In this Battle King Charilaus was taken Prisoner by the affistance of the Women, for when both Armies were engag'd, and had behav'd themselves very bravely, the Women who lay in Ambush under a Hill, from thence call'd fundamleis, making a suddain Sally upon the Lacedamonians, put them to flight. Charilaus was presently set at Liberty, having first taken an Oath that the Lacedamonians should not fight against them any more (u).

This, if we may believe Pausanias, was not religiously observed by Charilaus. Yet there are no accounts remaining of any further Attempts upon the Tegeata, or that the Lacedamonians suffered any Disturbances from them, till under the Reign of Eurycrates, the Second of that Name, and his Son Leon, which shall be related in their proper place.

Charilaus was succeeded by his Son Nicander. The Lacedemonians, under Charilaus's Collegue Teleclus, invaded three neighbouring Cities, Amycla, Pharis, and Garanthra; which were then posses'd by some of the Achai: the Inhabitants of the two latter, being terrified at the Approach of fo powerful an Enemy, obtain'd Leave by Composition to depart out of Peloponnesus. Amyclæ was not to be taken ar the first Attempt, but the Inhabitants, after they had made an obstinate Resistance, were tir'd out by the Length of the War, and forc'd to submit, after which the Lacedemonians demolish'd the three Cities. Teleclus in a short time after this was kill'd by the Messenians, in a Temple built in Honour of Diana, at a little Village call'd Limna, (from whence the Goddess receiv'd the Name of Limnatis) situate upon the Borders of Messenia, and Laconia. His Death was afterwards made a pretended ground

⁽u) Confer. Paufan, in Arcadic, cum Herodot, 1. 1. c. 66.

of that famous War, which broke out between the Spartans and Meffenians, under the Reign of his Son

and Succeffor Alcamenes.

In this Reign Charmidas, the Son of Euthyes, one of the Spartan Nobles, was fent to Crete, to compose some Differences, which arose in that Island, and to perswade the Cretans to abandon their Towns, too far distant from Sea, and to inhabit those which lay nearer to the Grecian Coasts. At the same time they demolish'd the City Helos, then inhabited by the Achai, and gave the Argivi a Defeat, who came to the Assistance of the Helotæ (w). Nicander, the other King of the younger Family, made an Incursion into Argolis, and laid it walte. The Afmei, who affilted Nicander in this Expedition, not long after fuffer'd a fufficient Revenge; for Nicander, and the Lacedamonians no sooner return'd home, than the Argivi, under the Conduct of Eratus, came with an Army, and laid close Siege to their City; the Afinai for some time defended themselves very obstinately, and, amongst many others, kill'd one Lyfistratus, a Man of greatest Note amongst the Argivi. At length, part of their Walls being taken, the Afinai with their Wives, and Children privately going on board, left their City, which the Argivi laid even with the ground, and added their Country to their own Dominions (x).

In the four and thirtieth Year of Nicander's Reign was celebrated the first Olympiad, after the Restitution of the Olympian Games by Iphitus. These were originally instituted by Hercules in Honour of Jupiter; but whether by the Idean Hercules, or the Son of Alemena, or by both is disputed. They were held likewise by Pelops, Endymion, Neleus, Pelias, Lycurgus, and divers others. After the Descent of the Heraclida into Peloponnesus, Oxylus, the Atolian renew'd them; but they were inter-

⁽w) Pausanias in Laconicis, c. 7. (x) Idem ibide c. 7. 6 in Argolicis, c. 36.

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rupted as formerly, and seldom or never observ'd but upon some extraordinary Occasions for about 300 Years, and had no fix'd or settled Date, till Iphitus again restor'd them, after which they never inter-

mitted for many Generations.

The Occasion of their last Restitution was this: Greece being diffracted with Seditions, and almost confum'd by a devouring Pestilence, Iphitus thought it the best way to consult the Oracle about some Remedy against these heavy Calamities. The Oracle answer'd, that it was expedient that Iphitus, and the Inhabitants of Elis should restore the Olympian Games (y). The place where they were celebrated, and from whence they receiv'd their Name was Olympia, a City upon the Confines of Pifa, near the River Alpheus, and for this Reason there arose frequent Contelts between the Inhabitants of Pifa and Elis, about the Right of presiding, and other Matters relating to these Games. So long as the Regal Power, and the Family of Oxylus lasted, the King of Elis was fole Judge, but afterwards two were chosen by the Votes of the People; these by Degrees encreas'd to ten, and at length to twelve. Their Office was to determine Controversies arising about the Victories in the feveral Exercises; the place where they fate, was not far distant from the Town, but the Games were perform'd upon the Plains.

This Solemnity was held once every fifth Year, and was so contrived, that between every time of its Celebration sour entire Years expired, which some have mistaken for sive, and from hence the Revolution of sour Years was called an Olympiad. The time when the Games were kept, was at the full of the Moon, the Change whereof immediately preceded the Summer Solfice in the Month Hecatombaon. Upon this Occasion a mighty Concourse of People flockt, not only from all parts of Greece, but, from

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⁽y) Paufanias, Eliac. 1.

other Nations also, to see the Pomp and Magnificence of these celebrated Meetings. At these times Care was taken to regulate the Form of the Year, and sor the Intercalation of a Day at the End of every fourth: at the same time the Priests of Jupiter Olympias, in Honour of whom a Temple was built upon the Plains of Elis, were to take notice of every New Moon, especially of that wherewith the Month Hecatombeon began, and to proclaim it. It was their Business, also not only to register the Names of the Victors in the several Games, with other Matters relating to them, but also whatever occurred remarkable, during the Intervals between the Celebration of every Olympiad.

This Interval instituted and confirm'd by the Authority of Religion, was thought the readiest and fafest way to calculate their time, tho' it doth not appear that their Chronologers were presently acquainted with the use of it. For, by the way, we must observe, that this vulgar Ara of the Olym-

A. M. must observe, that this vulgar Ara of the Olym-3228. pinus is of a fresher Date than Iphitus, and commenc'd not till the first Year of the Eight and Twentieth Olympiad, in which Corabus of Elis obtain'd the Victory in the Race. The Account of time henceforward never fail'd, and the Affairs of Greece and other Nations were known in more certain Or-At this Olympiad, the second of the three Intervals of time reckon'd by Varro, receiv'd its Period. The first, commencing with the beginning of things, ended with the Deluge, this he call'd Unknown; the fecond begins from that Period, and concludes with this Restitution of the Olympiads, which he term'd Fabulous, begause the Story as mix'd with Fables; and the third reaching from the first Olympiad to his own time, he nam'd Historical, because the things done in that Period were more truly and clearly related (3) to array its most vine con , stook

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⁽z) Censorin, de die Natali.

In the first Year of the seventh Olympiad there olymp.7.1 happen'd another Change in the Athenian State, too A. M. remarkable to escape unobserv'd. It was now above 3252. three Hundred Years fince the Establishment of the perpetual Archontes, in all which time we don't find any thing worth our Notice, perform'd by the Athenians, to that this feems to have been the most unactive Age of that State. The Perpetual Archon ship had now pass'd through thirteen Hands, from Medon Son of Codrus the first, to Alemaon the Son of Æschylus, the last who executed this Office. Alemaon after a Reign of scarce two Years died, upon which the Athenians, who every Day grew more inclin'd to a popular Government, took this Opportunity of restraining the Power of their Archontes, which, as it was then perpetual, bore too near a Resemblance to the Regal Authority. Therefore they confin'd it to ten Years, and constituted Charops the Son of Æschylus the first Decennial Archon, in the beginning of whose Reign, according to Dionysius, the City Rome was built (a).

About the same time fell out the Creation of the olymp. 7.4 Ephori at Sparta. Concerning these Magistrates there A. M. are several Disputes, both as to the time when they 3255. are several Disputes, both as to the time when they were created, the Person by whom, and the End for which they were instituted. Herodotus expresly affirms that they were created by Lycurgus together with the Senate, and Xenophon also seems to be of the same Opinion (b). But the more common Account is, that they were introduc'd by Theopompus, who some Years since succeeded his Father Nicander in the Kingdom. The first Occasion of the Institution of this Office was, as Plutarch seems to intimate, the long Absence of the Kings during the Meffenian War, which forc'd them to entrust some of their Friends with the Administration of the Government. These from their Care and In-

fpection.

⁽a) Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Roman, l. 1. p. 56. (b) Herodot' 1. 1. c. 65. Xenophon Resp. Laced.

spection into Affairs were call'd Ephori, and though they were at first no more than Deputies to the Kings, yet by degrees they affum'd fuch a Power to themselves, as insensibly constituted a peculiar Office in the Government, and was at length interwoven with the very Constitution (c). The same Author, in another place, gives a quite different Account, and more agreeable to the general Confent of ancient Writers, about these Magistrates: That notwithstanding all the Endeavours of Lycurgus to reduce Matters to an Equality, and all the Qualifications possible us'd in the Frame and Contrivance of his Common-wealth, the Smallness of the Number, of which the Senate confifted, made them very imperious. Besides this, the People being left out of all Employments of State, grew impatient under this Restraint, so that Theopompus, who liv'd about one Hundred and thirty Years after Lycurgus, was under a Necessity of bringing in, or at least giving way to this new Office, to the Exercise whereof he first nam'd Elatus. Hereupon being upbraided by his Queen, that he would leave the Regal Power to his Children less than he had receiv'd from his Ancestors, he answer'd her that on the contrary he should leave it so much greater than he found it, by how much it was more likely to last (d). And from hence Plutarch observes, that the Regal Power being thus kept within some reasonable Bounds, he at once freed himself from the Envy, and Danger to which an unlimited Power lies expos'd; fo that the Spartan Kings far'd much better after it, than their Neighbours of Argos and Meffenia, who by ferewing their Prerogative too high brake it, and by not yielding a little to the People loft all (e): Though to others the Design of creating these Magistrates feems not to have been to restrain the Regal Authority, that being fufficiently curb'd already, but rather

⁽c) Plut, Agis & Cleom. (d) Ariftot. Pol. 1. 5. c. 11. Val. Maxim. 1. 4. c. 1. (e) Plutarch in Lycurgo.

to protect the Rights and Privileges of the People,

from the undue Usurpations of the Senate.

The Ephori were five in number, Annually elected by the Commons out of their own Body, and in many things like the Cretan Cofmi. These were ten in number, and after the Regal Power was abolish'd, were the chief Magistrates in Crete. In Peace they govern'd the Common-wealth, and in War commanded the Armies with absolute Authority. In this they differ'd, that, whereas the Election of the Cosmi was restrain'd to some particular Families, the Ephori were chosen out of the whole Body of the People. Those who made the loudest Cries for Liberty, and were of a daring popular Wit, and had but Hatred and Aversion enough to the Nobility, whatever they were in other Respects, were generally chosen, without any Regard to Birth or Quality: infomuch that the meanest fort of Men were very frequently advanc'd to this Office. The People however, by the Creation of these Magistrates, being admitted to a share in the Government, were less subject to Mutiny, so that, as Aristotle observes, it was the main Support and Security of the Common-wealth (f).

The Power of these Magistrates, for what end soever constituted, was at first in all Probability very moderate. The first that enlarged it was, if we may believe Plutarch, one Asteropus (g); and in Process of Time as their own Ambition encreas'd, and thereupon the People grew more presumptuous, it exceeded its just Bounds, and made the Government almost degenerate into a Democracy. They not only consulted with the Kings and Senate, resolv'd about the Affairs of State, and determin'd Controversies amongst the People, but by degrees got the whole Power into their own Hands, and transacted all Things of any Moment themselves. They govern'd the Assemblies of the People, propos'd Matters to be

⁽f) Ariftot. Politic. 1. 2. c. 7. (g) Plut. Agis & Cleom.

debated, and gather'd their Suffrages, made and difannull'd Leagues, order'd what Forces were to be fent out, and took Care of necessary Provisions for them. They rewarded, or punished the other Magistrates at their Pleasure, and call'd the very Kings to account for their Behaviour; infomuch that they obtain'd a kind of Tyranny, the only Remedy against which was, that their Office was but Annual, and being five in number the Defigns of one or two were cross'd, and defeated by the rest, nothing being done without the Consent of the whole College.

The Ephori rose not up, as the other Magistrates, in the Presence of the Kings with whom they mutually fwore every Month; the Kings, that they would govern according to the Laws, and they in the Name of the People, that they would preferve the Regal Power thus constituted safe and entire (b). With their entering into their Office, the Year began constantly in Winter, and from one of them, as Principal of the College, the Year was nam'd, who from thence was call'd smovous. At the same time they publish'd an Edict, that the Men should observe all the Laws. and take off all the Hair from their upper Lips; thus requiring Obedience in small things to inure their Subjects to it in greater. These are the chief Patts of the Power of the Ephori (1). Was availed year aw

The Lacedamonians were scarce perfectly settled, after the Establishment of these new Magistrates, when the most bloody War, that had ever been yet known in Greece, broke out between them and the Messenians. This Storm had been gathering ever fince the End of Charilaus's, or the Beginning of Nicander's Reign at Sparta, at which time Phintas, the Son of Sybotas, was King of Messenia, under whose Reign the Spartan Enmity to the Messenians did first discover it self, and was the Occasion of the

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⁽h) Xenophon Resp. Lacedam. (i) Concerning the Epheri see more at large in Cragius de Rep. Lacedam. 1. 2. c. 4. Death

Death of Teleclus Collegue to Charilans. The Caufe of his Death, which was now made the pretended ground of this War, is differently represented by the two contending Parties: The Lacedemonians fay, that the Mellenians ravish'd some Spartan Virgins at the Temple of Diana Limnatis, and that Teleclus coming into their Rescue, was kill'd; after which the Virgins vindicated their own Reputation and Innocence by a voluntary Death. On the other hand, the Meffenians fay, that Teleclus, with some of the Spartan Youth, disguis'd in the Habit of Virgins. and arm'd with Poignards, lay in wait for some of the principal Messenian Nobility who came to the Temple. The Messenians, in the just Defence of their Country-men, kill'd Teleclas, and his Accomplices; and the Lacedamonians, at that time being conscious of the Injustice of Teleclus's Attempt, which was not undertaken without the Knowledge of the State, made no Complaint or Remonstrance, nor shew'd the least Design of revenging his Death.

Many Years after this there happen'd another Accident, which very much enflam'd the long diffembled Hatred between these two Nations. Polychares a Messenian, a Person otherwise of good Note, but particularly remarkable for his Victory in the Courfe, at the Celebration of the fourth Olympiad, was Master of a numerous Herd of Cows: His own Estate being too little to feed so many Mouths, he bargain'd with Eucephnus a Spartan, that he should keep them in his Grounds upon these Terms, that the Encrease of the Herd should be divided between them. Eucobinus, who could more eafily forego his Honesty or Reputation, than prefent Gain, though to all outward Appearance a very Fair Man, accepted the Conditions. Having fold the Herd of Cows to some Merchants, who arriv'd upon the Coasts of Luconia, himself went to Polychares with a plausible Story, that some Robbers had made an Incursion into the Country, and driven away both the Herd and the

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Keepers. Whilst the Lie was scarce out of his Mouth, one of the Herdsmen, whom he had fold with the Cows, having made his Escape, came in and discover'd the Truth of the whole Matter. Eucephnus being unable to withstand so plain an Evidence, confess'd the Fact, and the Price for which he had fold them, and having very fubmissively ask'd Pardon both of Polychares and his Son, promis'd to repay the Money, if the latter would go with him to Sparta. They no sooner reach'd Laconia, but Euaphnus to his former Crime added a much greater; for instead of paying the Money, he most perfidiously murther'd Polychares's Son. Polychares after this came several times to Sparta, with repeated Complaints of the Baseness of Eucephnus, and with Tears in his Eyes related the whole Transaction between them, in all its most aggravating Circumstances, before the Kings and Ephori. Still no Notice was taken, and Eucephnus escap'd unpunish'd, To that Polychares partly by Grief for the Death of his Son, and partly by Rage at the Spartan Injustice, being driven to Madness, kill'd the Lacedemonians where-ever he met them.

After this Ambassadours were sent from Sparta to demand Polychares to be deliver'd into their Hands. Androcles and Antiochus, who were at that time in Possession of the Kingdom of Messenia, by the Death of their Father Phintas, promis'd the Ambassadours that they would lay the Matter before the People, and fend them an Account of their Refolutions to Sparta. An Affembly being call'd, Androcles was of Opinion that Polychares ought to be deliver'd up, but on the contrary Antiochus urg'd, that it would be the highest Act of Cruelty and Injustice to deliver him, and by that means let his Adversary Enaphnus have the Pleasure of seeing him punish'd, whilst himself escap'd without Notice. The Assembly was divided between the two Kings, and the Contention grew so hot, that they were all immediately 13337

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diately in Arms: Antiochus's Party being superior to the other in Number, Androcles, and the chief of his Faction lost their Lives. Antiochus being now in fole Possession of the Kingdom, by Letters to the Spartans, offer'd to refer the whole Matter to the Argivi, who fprung from the same common Stock with the Spartans and Messenians, or to the Council of the Amphictyones, or the Senate of Areopagus at Athens. The Spartans return'd no Answer to this; Antiochus in a very few Months after died, and was fucceeded by his Son Euphaes. Still no formal War was declar'd, and the Spartans did not yet publickly renonnce their Friendship to the Messenians; but notwithstanding, they secretly made all the neceffary Preparations for a War with the utmost Diligence, and bound themselves by an Oath not to lay down their Arms till they had subdued Mellenia. The Death of Teleclus, and the with-holding Polychares were the pretended grounds of this War, but the true and real Cause of it seems to have been the Ambition of the Spartans. Their total Silence and Unconcern at King Teleclus's Death, immediately after the Fact was committed, shew that to be a mere Pretence; and their whole Proceeding in the Case of Polychares, but particularly their rejecting all Methods of Accommodation propos'd by Antiochus, betrays a fix'd Resolution of breaking with the Messenians. And rather than want a Colour for the Quarrel, they made use of the old Complaint, that in the Division of the Territories obtain'd by the Heraclidæ, Eurysthenes and Procles were cheated by their Uncle Cresphontes of the best ground.

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The Lacedæmonians, having now made all the necessary Provisions for the War, under the Conduct of Alcamenes, the Son of Teleclus, and their present King, march'd out by Night and surpriz'd Amphea, a frontier Town of Messenia upon the Borders of Laconia. This Place though but small, yet by reason of its Situation upon a very high Hill,

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and the Multitude of Springs which lay round it, and continually supplied it with Water, was thought to be of very great Importance. The Inhabitants not expecting any Attempt of this Nature, kept no Watch, and left their Gates standing open, so that Amphea was taken without any Resistance, and all that did not make their Escape were put to the Sword without Distinction, some being murder'd in their Beds, and others in the Temples, and at the very Altars; thus the most facred Places were not fecure from the Outrage and Violence of the Spartans, who had not only been the Authors of the first Injury, but were now adding to their former Injustice, by the first and most barbarous Acts of A.M. Hostility. Amphea was taken in the second Year of 3261. the ninth Olympiad, in which Xenodochus a Messenian

obtain'd the Victory in the Race; this falls in with the fifth Year of Asimedes, the Son of Asichylus, Archon at Athens, according to Pausanias (k), or

rather with the last of Charops.

The Messenians, being alarm'd at the unexpected Surprizal of Amphea, flock'd from all Parts of the Country to Stenyclerus, where Euphaes in an Assembly of the whole Body of the Messenians, endeavour'd to animate the People, who were extremely dejected at the suddain Attempts of the Enemy, by telling them, that the Gods were engag'd on their side, in the just Defence of their Country, from the malicious Designs of Avarice and Ambition. The Assembly after this was dissolv'd, and Euphaes order'd them all to be in Arms; his raw and unexperienc'd Troops he continually exercis'd, and the Veteranes he kept in ure by more constant Discipline, than formerly. The Lacedamonians in the mean time made frequent Excursions, but because they thought the Country their own, did very little Damage; they neither laid waste the Fields, nor demolish'd the Towns, but only seiz'd upon what

⁽k) Pausanias in Meffenicis.

Provision fell in their way. On the other hand, the Messenians plunder'd the maritime parts of Laconia,

especially about the Mountain Taygetus.

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It was now full four Years fince the taking of Amphea, when Euphaes finding his Men well disciplin'd, and fufficiently exasperated against the Lacedemonians, led out his Army in order to give them Battle. At the same time the Lacedamonians drew their Forces out of Amphea: the place where they met was a Plain divided by a very deep Channel. Near this Euphaes drew up his Army, over which he constituted Cleannis General in chief; the Cavalry and light arm'd Infantry, both which did not amount to above 500 Men, were commanded by Pytharatus and Antander. Now they came to a Battle, in which the Heavy-arm'd Men were quite useles, for by reason of the Channel, which was between them, only the Horfe and Light arm'd Foot could engage. These being equal, both in the Number and Discipline of their Men, sought till they were parted by the Night, with uncertain Victory. Euphaes in the mean time order'd Entrenchments to be thrown up about their Camp, and the Lacedamonians on the Morrow finding it impossible to force the Mellenians to a Battle, and being unprovided to beliege their Camp, return'd home.

The following Year, the Old Men upbraiding them with their inglorious Retreat, and the Non-performance of their Oath, the Lacedamonians return'd into Messenia under the Conduct of both their Kings, Theopompus the Son of Nicander, and Polydorus of Alcamenes now dead. The Messenians, not in the least daunted at their Approach, resolv'd to run the Hazard of another Battle. Polydorus commanded the left Wing of the Spartan Army, Theompompus the right, and one Euryleon, a Spartan by Birth, but a Theban by Descent, the main Body. On the Messenian side, the left Wing was led up by Pytharatus, the right by Euphaes and Antander, and the

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main Body by Cleonnis. Before the Engagement the Kings on both fides encourag'd their Men to behave themselves bravely: Theopompus very briefly put his Spartans in mind of their Oath, the Glory of their Ancestors, and the Opportunity they now had of performing greater things than ever they had done, and of adding so fruitful a Country to their own Dominions. Euphaes bid his Messenians remember that they fought for their Country, their Lives, Liberty, and all that was dear to them. When they had both made an end of speaking, the Signal was given to fall on. The Spartans as they excell'd the Messenians in Skill and Discipline, being train'd up in Martial Exercises from their Childhood, so were they very much superiour to them in Number. All their Neighbours were engag'd in a Confederacy with them; the Asinai and Dryopes, who under the Reign of Nicander at Sparta were expell'd their own Country by the Argivi, and from thence fled to Lacedemon, were now forc'd to take up Arms; and befide these some Cretan Archers were in their Pay, and posted against the Messenian light-arm'd Men. But whatever the Messenians wanted in Number and Discipline they abundantly made up in Valour, edg'd with Necessity and Despair, of which the most undeniable Marks appear'd in the Messenian Army. Many of them breaking their Ranks perform'd Wonders, mutually exhorting one another to dye bravely in Defence of their Country. Those who were yet whole and unwounded encourag'd their Fellow-Soldiers, just expiring with their Wounds, to perform fomething memorable, which would make Death it felf more pleafant: they on the other hand, excited their furviving Country-men to a generous Emulation of their Example, that their Lives might not feem lavishly thrown away in the Service of their Country. The Lacedamonians, whole Courage was more cool and fedate, kept their Ranks, and withstood the fiercest Attacks of the Enemy, who

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who they thought could not long fland their ground. Thus for a long time they fought very obitinately on both fides, when both of them rallied their wearied Troops, and fell on with as great Fury as at the first Attack. At length Euphaes, at the Head of a felect Body, which always fought about the King, put Theopompus and the Lacedemonians to flight, but in the other Wing the Messenians were hardly press'd; Pytharatus their Leader being kill'd. their Spirits funk, and their Ranks were presently in Confusion. However neither side thought it adviscable to give the other Chace; Euphaes went to relieve the left Wing, but the Night coming on, nothing more was done: The Lacedamonians being in an Enemy's Country, and unacquainted with the Place, or in Compliance with a Custom observ'd by their Ancestors, which was, never to pursue an Enemy flying, lest the Eagerness of the Chace should disturb their Ranks, stood still. In the main Body Euryleon and Cleonnis were parted by the Night on equal Terms. This Battle was fought chiefly by the Heavy-arm'd Men on both fides; their Horse were very few in Number, and perform'd no memorable Service in this Action: the Reloponnesians at this time being not very experienc'd Horsemen. The Messenian Light-arm'd Men, and the Cretan Archers did not engage, they being plac'd according to the ancient way of their Country, as Subfidies to the Heavy-arm'd Foot. The Day following neither Party shew'd any Inclination to fight, nor had the Confidence to erect a Trophy, but both having made a Truce were employ'd in burying their Dead.

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The Messenians after this Battle were extremely harass'd with many Difficulties. Their Garrisons had cost them so much Money, that they had scarce any left to maintain their Army: their Slaves daily deserted to the Lacedamonians, and a Distemper not unlike the Plague crept in amongst them, which though it did not spread very much, yet jointly with

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the other Calamities exceedingly distracted their Affairs. After a ferious debate upon the present Posture of their Affairs, it was resolv'd in Council, that they should abandon all the inland Cities, and retire to the Mountain Ithome. Upon this flood a Small City of the same Name, by reason of its Situation upon this Mountain, which was as large as any within the Ifthmus, and its own natural Strength. almost inaccessible. From hence the Messenians fent one Tifes the Son of Alcis, a Man of very great Worth, and an excellent Soothfayer, to confult the Oracle at Delphi about the Event of the War. Tifis, in his Return to Ithome, had like to have been intercepted by some Spartans, who were left in Garrison at Amphea; but on a suddain a Voice was heard commanding them to dismiss the Messenger of the Oracle, after which he was permitted to go on, and came to Ithome, where in a few Days he died of the Wounds which he receiv'd from the Spartans, in his Return(k).

Euphaes after this, in an Assembly of the Mellenians, recited the Answer of the Oracle, which commanded them to facrifice a Virgin of the Line of Epytus chosen by Lot. This fell upon the Daughter of one Lycifcus, but Epebolus a Soothfayer prevented her being facrific'd, by pretending that the was not Lycifcus's Daughter, and that she was privately taken into his Family by his Wife who was barren: Lycifcus in the mean time made his Escape with her to Sparta. After this one Aristodemus of the Family of Epytus, voluntarily offer'd his own Daughter to be facrific'd. But this generous Refo-Iution had like to have been deseated: A Messenian, whose Name is not known, was in love with Aristodemus's Daughter, and to prevent her Execution pretended that the was engag'd to him, and therefore not in her Father's Disposal. This Artifice not prevailing, he impudently feign'd a Story that he had lain with her, and that the was with Child by

⁽k) Paufanias in Meffenicis.

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him. Aristodemus was so enrag'd at this, that he kill'd his Daughter, and ripping up her Belly, vindicated her Innocence before the whole affembly. Whilf Epebolus was endeavouring to perswade them . that the Oracle was not fatisfied by the outrageous Murder of the innocent Virgin, and that another ought to be facrific'd to the Gods, to whom the Pythia directed the Offering to be made, the whole Affembly fell upon the Author of the Scandal, who had forc'd Aristodemus to imbrue his Hands in his Daughter's Blood, and profittuted the Safety of his Country to his own private Passion. The Man being one of Euphaes's Friends, he perswaded the People that the Oracle accepted what Aristodemus had done, to which all the Epytide readily agreeing, lest some of their own Daughters should otherwise be devoted to Death, the Tumult was presently appeas'd, and the Affembly diffoly'd.

The Mellenians had Respite now for some time, for the Lacedamonians were diverted by the Argivi, who pretended a Right to Thyrea, a City in Cynuria, fituate upon the Borders of Argolis and Laconia. There had formerly been some Quarrel between the Argivi and Lacedamonians about Cynuria, under the Reign of Labotas and Prytanis, Kings of Sparta (1), and the Occasion of the present War seems to have been deriv'd from the old ill Humours, which were ever fince breaking out between these two Nations. Theopompus, partly by reason of his Old-age, and partly for Grief at the Death of his Son Archidamus, was unable to carry on the War (m); the Matter being brought before the Council of the Ampbietyones, they order'd 300 chosen Men on each side to decide the Quarrel, and the Conquerors to have Thyrea. This Battle was fought with great Ob-Itinacy on both fides, by the Lacedamonians under the Command of one Othryades, the Argivi of Ther-

⁽¹⁾ See above, Page 96. (m) Paufanias in Laconicis.

The Lacedemonians having made an End of this War, now turn'd their Forces once more against the Mellenians. They had heard of the Answer which the Meffenians receiv'd from the Oracle, and began to have desponding Thoughts of the Posture of their own Affairs, and the Kings themselves were much flower in their Enterprises than formerly. However in the fixth Year, after the Flight of Lycifcus, their Sacrifices having a fortunate Aspect, they march'd towards Ithome. The Cretans no longer came to their Affistance, and the Lacedemonians were now suspected by the Peloponnesians in general, infomuch that fome of them were ready to declare against them. The Argivi privately made what Preparations they could, and the Arcadians by a publick Decree of the State, levied Forces against

⁽n) Plutarch, in minor, Parallel. p. 306. Herodot, l. 1. c. 8. Suidas in voce 'Ografus.

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them, but neither of them were ready to affift the Messenians before they gave the Enemy Battle; for the Messenians, whose Hopes were extremely rais'd by the late Answer of the Oracle, were resolv'd to run the Hazard of another Engagement without any Confederates. Wherefore another Battle was fought with the same Success as the former; only in this the Messenians seem to have suffer'd more than the Enemy, that they loft their King, and one of their best Leaders, after which they were again parted by the Night. In this Battle neither Wing perform'd any thing remarkable, for after the first Attack both Armies broke their Ranks, and the most valiant Men on both sides thrust themselves into the main Body. Here therefore was the sharpest Service; and Euphaes venturing himself farther than was confiftent with his own Safety, or the Dignity of his Character, against Theopompus, fell down mortally wounded. After this the Fight was renew'd with great Fury about the King's Body, in this Conflict Antander was kill'd, and Euphaes, with great Difficulty, was brought off into the Camp, where in very few Days he died, after a troublesome Reign of thirteen Years, all which time he was engag'd in War with the Lacedemonians.

Euphaes dying without Issue, the People proceeded to an Election of a King, the Competitors for the Kingdom being Cleonnis, Damis, and Aristodemus. Epebolus and Ophioneus, the Soothsayers, protested against the last as unworthy to succeed, because he had defil'd his Hands in his Daughter's Blood; but notwithstanding by his Interest in the People he obtain'd the Kingdom. The new King made his Court both to the People and the Nobility, and particularly to his two Opposers, Cleonnis and Damis. Besides this, he established an Interest amongst the Consederates, by Presents to the principal Men of Arcadia, Argos, and Sicyon; but little more was done for several Years, than some Incursions into one another's

Coun-

Country by little Parties on each side, about the time of Harvest. In these the Arcadians assisted the Messerians, and the Argivi, who durst not yet publickly discover their Harred of the Lacedamonians, were ready to join them when ever they came to a Battle.

Aristodemus was now in the fifth Year of his Reign, when both fides defir'd their Confederates to be in Readiness at an appointed Day. The Length and Expence of the War now grew almost insupportable, and both fides were refolv'd to come to a decifive Battle. Of all the Peloponnesians, only the Corinthians came to the Affistance of the Spartans; these, and the Helota made up the main Body of their Army, the two Wings were commanded by the two Kings, and their Ranks were very deeply lin'd. Aristodemus, on the other hand, joining some of the most valiant Messenians, and Arcadians, well arm'd, to the Argivi and Sicyonians, order'd them to come to Hand-strokes with the Enemy; then he drew outhis heavy arm'd Troops into a confiderable length, to prevent their being furrounded, and planted them so that they should always have Ithome on their Back. These were Commanded by Cleonnis, Aristodemus himself, and Damis led the light-arm'd Men, which confilted of a few Slingers and Archers; the rest by reason of their Swiftness, being chiefly design'd to make Excursions upon the Enemy, were arm'd only with a Breast-plate and Buckler. Those that wanted this Armour, were clad in the Skins of Sheep, or Goats, others in those of wild Beasts, the Highlanders of Arcadia, especially, who wore the Skins of Wolves and Bears; every one bore several little Javelins in their Hands, and some were arm'd with These lay in Ambush in a retir'd part of the Mountain Ithome, where they could not be difcover'd by the Enemy. The Signal being given, both fides fell on with great Bravery, and tho' the Messenians were inferiour in Number to the Lacedamonians, yet they could make no Impression upon them

them. Whilft these were engaging, Aristodemus gave the Word for those who lay in Ambush to fall on: these forely gall'd the Lacedæmonians in their Flank. and some of them, more bold than the rest, engag'd them hand to hand. The Lacedamonians still maintain'd their Ground, and kept their Ranks, and Aristodemus still pour'd down his light-arm'd Men upon them: fome of these annoying the Enemy at a distance with their missive Weapons, others coming to close Engagement, at length so wearied the Lacedæmonians, that they were forc'd to fly with the utmost haste and confusion, the Mesenians pursuing them, made a terrible Slaughter. What was the precise Number of the flain in this Pursuit, Pausanias fays, is uncertain, but that in all probability it was very great (o). Befides this, the Corinthians, who were Confederates with the Lacedemonians, were put to extreme Difficulties; they could not tell which way to return Home, for whether they march'd through the Territories of the Argivi, or of the Sicyonians, they were equally in an Enemy's Country.

The Lacedæmonians were very much dejected at this Defeat, in which they not only lost a great Number of Men, but some of good note; insomuch that they almost despair'd of any tolerable success. However they were not long after reviv'd by an Answer from the Delphian Oracle, which told them, that as Messenia was at first obtain'd by fraud, so by the same means it might be recover'd. The Kings and Ephori, after they had wrack'd their Invention for some fine Stratagem, at last resolv'd to imitate that, which Uhsses made use of at the Siege of Troy. Therefore they sent an hundred Men to Ithome, who under the Pretence of being Deserters, were to discover all the Councils and Designs of the Enemy, and to make their Contri-

⁽o) Pausanias in Messenicis

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vance more plaufible, condemned the pretended Deferters by a publick Decree of the State. But Ariftodemus presently dimis'd them with this Answer, That the Injustice of the Lacedamonians was New. but their Stratagem Old. This Project not taking effect, they endeavour'd to corrupt the Messenian Confederates; First, they try'd how the Arcadians stood affected, but being rejected by them with great Indignation, they were deterr'd from making any Attempts upon the Argivi. Aristodemus in the mean time, who was no Stranger to all their fecret Practices, confulted the Oracle, which gave him fuch an obscure Answer, that neither Aristodemus himself, nor the Soothsayers could give any tolerable Guess at the Meaning of it. The Oracle ran thus (p),

Κυδός σοι πολέμοιο διδοϊ Θεός άλλ απάπαιση Φεάζε, μιὰ Σπάρτης δόλι λόχος έχθρος ανέλθη Κρώωνν. Η β Άρης κώνων δυής εα τέυχη, Καί τε χορῶν ς εφάνωμα πικρές οἰκήτος σς έξει, Τῶν δύο συντυχίαις κρυπθέ λόχε έξαναδύντων. Οῦ πρόδεν δέ τέλ τόδ έπό ψεται ίσε γο δίμας, Πεὶν τὰ πάς αλλα φύσιν τίξαν χεών αφίκηται.

Ecce manet fato longi te gloria Belli:
At Spartana Phalanx te vincat fraude caveto.
Nam bene compacta illorum si vasa habeat Mars,
Sævum habitatorem feret alta corona chororum.
Tunc gemini è latebris erumpent forte sub Auras
Nec prius eventum rerum lux alma videbit,
Iidem quam fato gemini fungantur eodem.

This was, in a few Years, too clearly explain'd by its fatal Accomplishment.

About this time it happen'd that Lycifcus's Daughter died, and her Father, whilst he was paying her the last Offices of Kindness, was taken at her Grave by

⁽p) Pausanias ut supra.

a Party of Arcadian Horse, and brought to Ithome. Here he was tried for Capital Crimes of Treason, in deferting, and flying to Sparta: To this he pleaded, that he had not any ways endeavour'd to betray his Country, and that he made his Escape to Sparta, only because the Soothfayer declar'd his Daughter illegitimate. Whilst he was arguing thus in his own Defence, the Priestess of Juno's Temple came in, and made a voluntary Confession, that she was the Mother of the Child, and had privately given it to Lycifcus's Wife. This Story obtain'd credit the more easily, because the Woman could not propose any private Advantage, but on the contrary immediately forfeited her Priesthood, by the Confession; for it was an old Custom inviolably observ'd amongst the Messenians, that whenever a Child, whether of a Man, or Woman, who had the Office of the Priesthood, died, another should be substituted in their Place. Wherefore the was accordingly depriv'd, and

Lyciscus acquitted.

The twentieth Year of the War was now coming on, when the Oracle at Delphi was again confulted. The Substance of the Answer was, that those who first plac'd an hundred Tripos's about the Altar of Jupiter Ithometes, should be Masters of Messene. The Messenians interpreted this as an undoubted Promise of Victory, for having the Temple within their own Walls at Ithome, they were not in the least Apprehension of Danger from the Lacedemonians. However some Body from Delphi having transmitted the Answer of the Oracle to Sparta, whilst the Messenians, who had not Money to purchase Brass, were employ'd in making Tripos's of Wood, one Oebalus a Spartan, disguis'd in the Habit of a Fowler, enter'd Ithome, and by Night got unobserv'd into the Temple; after he had plac'd an hundred Tripos's made of Clay round the Altar, he return'd to Sparta with an Account of what he had done. This unexpected Disappointment struck the Melle-

Messenians half dead with Fear, but Aristodemus us'd his utmost Endeavours to keep them in heart, both by encouraging Speeches to the People, and by dedicating an hundred Tripos's of Wood Another very remarkable Accident happen'd about the same time; Ophioneus the Soothfayer, who was blind from his Birth, being feiz'd with a violent Pain in his Head, after a very wonderful manner receiv'd his Sight. Many other Ominous Events now began to prefage the approaching Ruin of Mellema. One was, the Target which voluntarily fell from the Brazen Image of Diana Another very ill Omen was, that when Aristodemas was facrificing to 72. piter Ithometes, the Rams kill'd themselves by running their Horns against the Altar. The third was the continual Howling of Dogs, which every Night meeting in a Body, made a most hideous Noise, and then flock'd towards the Camp of the Lacedamonians. Befides all this, Aristodemus was disturb'd in the Night with frightful Dreams: In his Sleep whilft he imagin'd himself sacrificing before he went out to Battle, and the Entrails of the Sacrifices lying upon the Table, his Daughter appear'd to him cloath'd in Black, opening her naked Breaft, and upbraiding him with the unnatural Wounds which he had given her; after which, throwing away the Entrails, and laying aside his Arms, she put a Crown of Gold upon his Head, and cover'd him with a white Gar-This he interpreted as a manifest Prediction of his Death, for the Mellenian Nobility, when they were carried out to be buried, were crown'd, and cloath'd in White After this Ophioneus, who had lately receiv'd his Sight, was struck with his old natural Blindness. This was look'd upon as an undeniable Completion of the dark Answer of the Oracle above-mention'd, this Line,

Tar No our tu ziaus uşumî hóne Kara Nirthr, being applied to Ophioneus's two Eyes.

The Messenians were, in a short time, after this, besieg'd, and Aristodemus, finding his Daughter's Blood lavishly spilt, and the Ruin of his Country, whose Service he intended in facrificing her, now impending, funk into Excess of Melancholy, and Despair, and kill'd himself at her Grave. He was one, if we may believe Pausanias's Character of him, who preferv'd the finking State of the Mellenians, as long as human Forefight could preferve it; but whose good Designs were frustrated by cross and adverse Fortune. With him fell the Messenian Kingdom, after he had reign'd fix Years and fome Months. For, after his Death, they elected no other King, but created Damis General in chief. However, the Loss of Aristodemus was so fatal a Stroke to the Messenians, that they once thought of making some Overtures for a Treaty. But, their inveterate Hatred, to the Lacedamonians, had a much Gronger Influence upon them, than their present Necessities. Wherefore Damis, with his Collegue Cleonnis and Phyleus, made what necessary Preparations he could out of the broken Fortunes of Messenia, to make a Sally upon the Enemy. For, being now forely distress'd by the Necessities of a close Siege, and their Provisions beginning to fail, they were afraid of being starv'd out. But at length, after a Siege of five Months, having lost all their Generals, and Men of greatest Note, they were forc'd to abandon Ithome. Thus ended the first Messenian War, after Olymp. it had lasted about twenty Years, in the first of the A. M. fourteenth Olympiad, the fourth of Hippomenes 3280. Archon at Athens being just expir'd (s). This Man was the last of Codrus's Posterity, who reign'd at Athens, and was depos'd, for his Cruelty, to his Daughter, whom he shut up with a Horse, which had no Meat for feveral Days, to be devoured alive, because she had been deflour'd by one of the Citizens;

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⁽s) Pausanias ibidem.

and in Memory of this, there was a place, in the City call'd "Inne & Kegns, from the Horse, and his

Daughter (t).

The Messenians, who had any Hopes of being receiv'd at Argos, Sicyon or Arcadia, made their Escape thither: those, who were of the facred Family, of the Priesthood, in the Eleusinian Mysteries, fled to Eleusis, and the rest retir'd to their ancient Seats in Mellenia. The Lacedamonians having taken, and demolish'd Ithome, the other Cities fell into their Hands of Course; after this they put the Asinai in Possession of that part of the Messenian Territories upon the Sea, from which they were some time fince driven by the Argivi. Another part, call'd Hyamia, they allotted to Androcles's Grand-children by a Daughter, who, upon his Death, made her Escape with her Children to Sparta, and was still living. All the Mellenians that stay'd in their own Country were forc'd to submit to these hard terms, First, To bind themselves by solemn Oath to remain in perpetual Fealty to the Lacedemonians, and to fend half the yearly Fruits of their Land to Sparta; and lastly, when either the Kings or Nobles of Sparta died, to attend their funeral Processions in mourning Weeds, both themselves and their Wives, or undergo a certain Penalty.

The Lacedæmonians, not long after their Return home, lost both their Kings Theopompus and Polydorus. The former died a Natural Death, after a long Reign, being arriv'd to a good old Age. The latter was murder'd by one Polemarchus, a Spartan of a good Family, but of a bold innovating Temper. His Death was very much lamented, for he was univerfally belov'd, but especially by the People, both for his exact Justice, and extraordinary Temper in the whole Course of his Government (u). These two Kings, by their prudent Management, brought one

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⁽t) Suidas in vece Innomirns. (u) Paufanias in Laconicis.

thing to good Effect, which, in Justice to their Memory, ought not to be pass'd over in Silence. Not long after the Reformation made by Lycurgus, the People arriv'd to that Degree of Insolence, that they made Glosses, and Explanations, of the Laws, contrary to the Intent, and Meaning of the Kings, and Senate, and, fometimes by adding, or razing out, whole Sentences, quite perverted the Senfe. Polydorus therefore and Theopompus, to be even with them in their own kind, inserted into the Rhetra the following Clause, That if the People shall go about to make any Alterations, in the Decrees of the Senate, or to enlarge, or limit the Sense of them, it shall be lawful for the Kings to make void their Resolutions, and to dissolve the Assembly. And this Matter was so dexteerously manag'd, that it past amongst the People for as Authentick as the Rhetra it felf (w). Theopompus was succeeded by his Grandson Zeuxidamus, and Polydorus by his Son Eurycrates.

The new Kings enjoy'd a peaceful Reign, un olymp. molested by any neighbouring Power, both the 18. 2. Messenians, and Argivi being unable to make any Re- A. M. fistance, but they had like to have been disturb'd by 3297. Civil, and Intestine Commotions: These were secretly contriv'd, and carried on, by the Helota, joyn'd with the Parthenia, a spurious Breed of young Men, begotten on the Virgins during the Messenian War. Whilst the Lacedamonians were abroad, and lay under the Obligation of their Oath, not to return home till they had subdued Messenia, their Wives fent them word the City would be unpeopled unless they return'd, no Children having been born in ten Years. Wherefore they fent home all the lustiest young Men, who came out under Age, and were not oblig'd by the Oath, to lie promiscuously with all the Virgins, from whom

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⁽w) Plutarch in Lycurgo.

and finding themselves despis'd, by reason of their Illegitimacy, and incapable of inheriting any thing in the Common-wealth, enter'd into a Conspiracy with the Helotæ, being headed by one Phalantus, whose Father, Aratus, gave the Advice of sending the young Men home to the Virgins. All their Designs being discover'd by some of the Helotæ, their Fellow-conspirators, the Partheniæ, by the Interest of their Fathers in the City, escap'd without farther Punishment, than being forc'd to quit Sparta. From hence they went into Italy, and built the City Tarentum, having first driven away the Cretans and Barbarians, who then inhabited those

Parts (x). It is now time to take a View of the Posture of Affairs at Athens. And here the People, who, in every Change of Government, made continual Encroachments upon the Power of a fingle Person, were now grown quite weary of it, and refolv'd to abolish it. A Power so limited, and restrain'd, as that of the Decennial Archontes, foon found it felf too weak to bridle the fickle, and unfettled Tempers of the Athenians. Hippomenes, the fourth that exercis'd it, was, as has been shewn above, depos'd; and Eryxias, the feventh and last, upon some distast, meeting with the same Fate, or, as some say, dying a natural Death, in the feventh Year of his Reign, open'd the Door to another, much greater, Innovation in the Government. For, after his Death, they constituted nine Archontes, to be chosen out of those who for Birth, Wealth or Favour were most considerable in the City: Their Election was to be Annual, that the People might more frequently recall the Authority they had never without Regret conferr'd upon the Magistrate. Thus fell the Power of the Decennial Archontes, after it had continued

⁽x) Juftin 1. 3. Strabo 1. 6. p. 278, 279, 280.

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above threefcore Years, when, by the creation of Olympa these Annual Magistrates, the Government of Athens 23. 2. degenerated into a pure Democracy. Such were the A.M. Effects of that Liberty, which Thefeus at first be- 3317. stow'd upon the People, who could not be satisfied

fo long as the Nobility had the fole Authority, and

Influence upon the Affairs of State.

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The first in order of these Annual Magistrates was properly call'd Archon, as being Principal of the College. The Archon, with his Procurators, had the Care of the Dionysia and Thargelia; all Causes of Injuries and Drunkenness were tried before him: he took care of Orphans, and assign'd them Guardians; took Cognizance of Differences arising about Inheritances, had the Charge of Women who prov'd big with Child after the Death of their Husbands, and let or fold the Houses of the Orphans. From him the Year was nam'd, as from the Principal of the Ephori at Sparta; he fign'd the Calendar, and all things that fell out that Year were faid to be done whilst he was Archon, from whence he obtain'd the Name of 'Emb-The first, who executed this Office, was one Creon.

The fecond in order had the Name of King, he, with his Procurators, took care of the Lenæa, a Feaft celebrated in Honour of Bacchus, of the Games & λαμπάδι, and of the Sacrifices perform'd to their Houshold Gods. All Causes of Impiety, and Sacriledge were brought before him, and he himself tried them in Person: Actions of Murder he brought into the Court of Areopagus, and laying aside his Crown, himself had a Vote, and sate as Judge amongst the rest of the Senate. He forbad all unholy Persons to Approach the Mysteries, or be present at any such religious Rites. Besides all these, Disputes arising about Inanimate things were tried by him. His Wife was called Queen.

The Third was the Polemarchus, whose Office was to facrifice to Diana, call'd'Ayestign, from one of the K 3

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Athenian Burroughs, and to Enyalius, who is by fome taken for Mars, and by others, for one of his Attendants. He took care of the Funeral Games, celebrated in Honour of those, who died in the Wars, and of the Exequies of the famous Patriot Harmodius. Before him were brought all Actions of Servants against their Masters, and of Freed-men against their Patrons; these were call'd 'Acceptable Aires.

The other Six were call'd, by one common Name, Thesmothetæ. Before their Admission into their Office the Senate propos'd the following Questions to them, Whether they descended from Ancestors, that had been Citizens of Athens for three Generations? What Tribe they belong'd to? And whether they bore any Relation to Apollo, or Jupiter Herceus? Whether they had been kind and dutiful to their Parents? Whether they had ferv'd in the Wars, or had any Estate? After this they took a solemn Oath in the Portico call'd Barian 50a, that they would observe the Laws, would receive no Bribe, upon Penalty of dedicating a Statue of Gold, of equal weight with their own Bodies, to Apollo Delphius: from hence they went into the Acropolis, and there repeated the same Oath. They were crown'd with Myrtle, and had the Power of Life and Death. The chief parts of their Office was to receive Complaints against Persons guilty of false Accusations, Calumny, Bribery and Impiety; this latter was also a part of the King's Office, but with this Difference, that the Accusers did only inform against the impious Person by word of Mouth at the King's Tribunal, but to the Thesmothetæ they deliver'd their Indictment in Writing. They were the proper Judges of all Causes and Disputes between the Citizens and Strangers, Sojourners and Slaves, and Controversies about Trade and Merchandize. to the People were preferr'd, the Publick Examination of several of the Magistrates perform'd, and

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the Suffrages in publick Assemblies taken by them. They ratisfied all publick Contracts and Leagues, appointed the Days, upon which the Judges were to sit, and hear Causes, in their several Courts of Judicature, took care that no Laws should be made, but such as conduc'd to the Publick Sasety and Prosperity; and indicted those that endeavour'd to seduce the unwary Multitude, and perswade them to give their Consent, to what was contrary to the Interest of

the Common-wealth (v).

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This remarkable Revolution at Athens was immediately follow'd by the second Messenian War. The Messenians had now endured the Spartan Yoke, for many Years, without any Resistance, when a valiant Race of young Men was grown up in the room of their Fathers, whom the former War had confum'd. These, though utterly unacquainted with the Art of War, were refolv'd to ferve their Imperious Masters, the Spartans, no longer, choosing rather to dye in the Defence of their Liberty, than enjoy the most splendid Servitude attended with Peace and Plenty. The chief of these was Aristomenes, a young Gentleman of Andania, the Son of one Pyrrhus, as most of the other Grecians report, but, according to the Messenians themselves, of Nicomedes. Aristomenes, being encourag'd by the unanimous Desires of his Countrymen, made all the necessary Preparations for a Revolt, and to this purpose privately sent to the Argivi, and Arcadians, to try how they stood affected, and whether they would assist them with the same Alacrity, and with Forces equal to those, with which they had serv'd them in the last War. This Message met with a more favourable Reception than the Messenians expected, for both the Argivi, and Arcadians being now at open Enmity with the Lacedamonians, were as ready to ailift them, as they could defire. Wherefore, all

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⁽y) Concerning the nine Archontes, see Jul. Pollux Onomastic. 1.8. c. 9.

Olymp, things being ripe for their purpole, the Messenians 23. 4. revolted in the nine and thirtieth Year, after the A.M. taking of Ithome (z); the fourth of the twentythird Olympiad, in which Icarus Hyperesiensis won the Race, Tlesias being then Archon of Athens (a).

Anaxander, the Son of Eurycrates, and Anaxidamus the Son of Zeuxidamus, were at this time Kings of Sparta; when about a Year after the Revolt, the Spartans and Messenians march'd to a little Village of Messenia, call'd Dera. Here they came to a very sharp Engagement, being unassisted on either side by their Confederates, and were parted with uncertain Victory. In this Battle, Aristomenes gave fuch extraordinary Proof of his Valour, that he seemed to behave himself more like a God than a mere Man, and, being of the Line of Apytus, when the Fight was ended, he was faluted by the Name of King, by the Messenians; but modestly declining this Title, he was created General in chief with absolute Power and Authority. Aristomenes us'd his utmost Endeavours to fill the Spartans with fearful Apprehensions, now in the Beginning of the War, that he might make his Advantages of their Fears, in carrying it on. To this end going privately by Night to Sparta, he hung up a Shield upon the Temple of Minerva Chalciacus, with this Inscription, Aristomenes dedicates this of the Spoils of the Spartans, to the Goddess. At the same time the Lacedamonians confulting the Oracle at Delphi, concerning the Event of the War, were commanded to procure one from Athens, under whose Conduct they should carry it on. The Athenians, who beheld with Envy the rifing Power of Sparta, which, by the Accession of so considerable a Part of the Pelopounesus, might prove dangerous to their Commonwealth, were very unwilling to encourage or pro-

⁽z) Justin 1. 3. c. 5. and Eusebius in Chronic, reckon 80 Years between the first, and second Messenian War. (a) Pausanias in Meffenicis.

mote their Affairs. But notwithstanding, either in Obedience to the Oracle, to transgress whose Commands was thought great Impiety, or, as Justin says, in Contempt of the Spartans, they at length sent one Tyrtaus a Poet, and Schoolmaster, lame of one Foot, and suspected to be disorder'd in his Head.

About a Year after the Battle at Dera, the Spartans and Messenians met at the Boar's Monument. a Village, of Steneclerus a part of Messenia, so call'd from Hercules's making a League with Nileus's Sons upon a Boar's Entrails (b). The Messenians were now join'd by the Inhabitants of Elis, the Arcadians, Argivi and Sicyonians: besides these, many who sled their Country in the last War, now Voluntarily return'd to affist the Messenians; those of the Family of the Eleusinian Priests, and the Posterity of Androcles, formerly King of Messenia, vigorously concurr'd with the rest in the common Cause. As for the Asinci, they, being in League with both Parties, flood Neuter: and the only Confederates, of the Spartans, were the Corinthians. When Hecatus and Theoclus the Soothfayers, the former on the Spartan, the latter on the Messenian Side, had made an end of performing the Sacrifices usual upon such Occasions, both Armies prepar'd for the Engagement. Anaxander King of Sparta, and those who were about him, shew'd the greatest Eagerness for the Battle: On the other Hand Phintas and Androcles, the Grand-sons of Androcles, amongst the Messenians, were enflam'd with a Defire of performing something great and memorable. Aristomenes, with a Body consisting of 80 of the Flower of the Messenian Nobility, posted himself over against Anaxander King of Sparta, who commanded that Body in which lay the chief Strength of the Spartan Army. After an obstinate and bloody Fight of several Hours, Anaxander and his Troops were put to Flight;

⁽b) Pausanias in Messenicis.

Aristomenes order'd his other Forces to give them Chace, whilst he, with his select Body, attackt those who still maintain'd their Ground, which he did with such good Success, that the Lacedamonians breaking their Ranks, were put into Disorder, and the whole Army sled before him. Whilst Aristomenes was pursuing the Enemy, Theoclus, the Soothsayer, saw Castor and Pollux appear in a Tree, upon the Plain, and endeavour'd to recall Aristomenes from the Chace; but he, not minding Theoclus's Call nor Entreaties, no sooner came to the Tree, where Castor and Pollux sate, but he lost his Shield; and whilst he was searching after that, the Lacademo-

nians made their Escape.

The Lacedamonians were so dishearten'd by this Defeat, that they would very willingly have put an end to the War, but Tyrtaus raised their drooping Spirits with his Verses, and fill'd up their broken Troops with chosen Men out of the Helota. Aristomenes, in his Return to Andania, was met by the Women of the City, who adorn'd him with Garlands, strew'd Flowers in his Way, and celebrated his Praises in a Song, which, Pausanias says, remain'd in his Time (c). Not long after this he went to Delphi, and from thence the Oracle commanded him to go to the Temple of Trophonius, at Lebedea in Baotia, where he found the Shield, which he lost in Pursuit of the Lacedamonians, and afterwards hung it up in the Temple. After his Return out of Baotia, he applied himself to carrying on the War; and with a good Party of the Messenians, besides the select Body, which always fought about his Person, he marcht to Phara, a Town of Laconia, by break of Day. Here they put all to the Sword that made any Resistance, and took the Town; in their Return to Messenia laden with Plunder, Anaxander with a Party of Lacedamonians fell upon

⁽c) Paufanias in Meffenicis.

their Rear, but Aristomenes, and his Messenians, turning upon them, soon put them to Flight, and gave not over pursuing them, till Aristomenes was disabled by a Wound, which he received in his

Thigh.

Aristomenes was no sooner recover'd of his Wound, than he was upon his March directly to Sparta, with a Design to carry the War home to the Enemy's own Door; but he was diverted from this Enterprise by a Vision, in which Helena, and her Brethren Castor and Pollux, appear'd to him. In his Return homewards he feiz'd a Company of Virgins, who were dancing to the Honour of Diana, at Caryæ, whom he carried to a Town in Messenia, where he stay'd but one Night, and plac'd a Guard over them. Their Keepers, growing heated with Wine, began to be very rude to the Virgins, and attempted to ravish them, but Aristomenes ordering some of them, who had been more Outrageous than the rest, to be kill'd, put an end to the Disturbance; their Parents afterwards paying a large Ransom, Aristomenes restor'd them safe and undefil'd. After this a very odd Accident befell Aristomenes, and the Messenians, at Ægila, a Village in Laconia, where stood an ancient Temple built in Honour of Ceres. Whilst Aristomenes and his Men were upon their March that Way, fome grave Matrons were employ'd in celebrating some Religious Ceremonies to the Goddels. Whether Aristomenes endeavour'd to interrupt them in their facred Rites, or to take them Prisoners, is uncertain; but the Women on a suddain, as if they had been affisted by the Deity, whom they ador'd, fell upon the Messenians with their Knives, and Spits, and other Instruments us'd in their Sacrifices. This remarkable Attack was made with fo much Fury, that many of the Messenians were very feverely handled; Aristomenes, amongst the rest, being wounded with their Torches, was taken Prifoner, and bound in Chains; but he made his Escape

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Escape the same Night, and return'd to his Men. There was a Report that Archidamea, the Preistess of these Religious Ceremonies, being in love with him, set him at Liberty, and afterwards pretended that Aristomenes himself burnt his Fetters, and made

his Escape. It was now the third Year of the War, when all the former Victories of Aristomenes were lost in one Battle, purely through the Falsehood and Treachery of Aristocrates King of Arcadia, who then commanded the Arcadian Troops, and was bribed by the Spartans to betray the Messenian Army. Both the Spartan and Messenian Army being assembled at a Place, call'd the Great Ditch, Aristocrates conceal'd his Defign from the Arcadians; but, before the Signal was given for Battle, he endeavour'd to possess his Men with a Fear of their present Danger, by telling them that unless they obtain'd the Victory, there was no Possibility of Escape. Besides this, he pretended the Entrails of his Sacrifice had an unfortunate Aspect, and therefore he order'd his Men, that when he gave the Sign, they should every one take care of his own Safety by Flight. Accordingly the Mellenians were no fooner engag'd with the Spartans, but Aristocrates drew off the Arcadians, who were posted in each Wing; so that the Inhabitants of Elis, the Argivi and Sicyonians not being present, the left Wing, and main Body of the Messenian Army, were quite naked. Aristocrates farther to compleat his Treason, and render it more fuccessful to the Spartans, rush'd through the midst of the Messenians, by that means to put their Ranks into Confusion, and render them a more easy Prey to the Enemy. The Messenians were in a great Consternation at this unexpected Retreat, and could not tell which way to turn themselves: the Lacedamo. nians now press'd the harder upon them, but the Messenians notwithstanding address'd themselves to the Arcadians, who were flying away, some praying

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and entreating them to keep their Ranks, others upbraiding them with their Cowardise, and base Violation of their Treaty. The Lacedamonians sinding the Messenians thus abandon'd, presently surrounded the remaining part of their Army, and notwithstanding Aristomenes omitted nothing worthy of a General, or common Souldier, almost all his Men were cut off. In this Battle some of the Messenian Nobility were kill'd, amongst the rest Androcles and Phintas, and one Phanas, who had obtain'd the Victory at the Longer Course in the Olympick Games, and behav'd himself with great Bravery in this Fight.

Aristomenes gathering the Remains of his Army, perswaded the Messenians to abandon Andania, their chief City, and all the inland Towns at any Distance from the Sea, and fortify the Mountain Era. The Lacedamonians, immediately laid close Siege to Era, in Hopes of taking it at the first Assault, but, contrary to their Expectation, found a tedious Piece of Work, which held them Eleven Years. For besides that, Era was very strongly fortified by Nature, Pylus and Mothone, two confiderable Garrisons upon the Sea Coasts, kept all that part of the Country still firm to the Messenians. Aristomenes, with a Company of three Hundred choice Men, perform'd many incredible Exploits, which gave great Diversion to the Befiegers, and almost wearied them out. He wasted all the Fields of Mellenia, which were in the Enemy's Power, made an Irruption into Laconia, and from thence took away Corn, Wine, Cattle, and all other Provisions necessary for the Besieg'd. Befides all this, he plunder'd their Houses, and carried away their Slaves, and their House-hold Goods; these he converted into Money, by suffering the Owners to redeem them. The Lacedamonians were fo extreamly harafs'd by these continual Excursions, that they were forc'd to publish an Edict, forbidding the Messenian Lands, which they had won, and the adjoining Parts of their own Country, to be plow'd, and

and manur'd, fince the Fruit of them only furnish'd the Enemy with Provision, and lengthen'd the Siege. But this, instead of distressing the Messenians, turn'd much heavier upon the Spartans themselves, for the want of Corn soon produc'd a Famine at Sparta; from hence naturally sprung a Sedition, which sound the Poet Tyrtaus Work enough to suppress, but was at length appeas'd by his powerful Numbers.

Aristomenes, in the mean time, with his fele& Band of three hundred Men, making a Sally out in the Night, by a very quick and fuddain March, advanc'd as far as Amycle, took and plunder'd the Town, and return'd to Era, before any Relief could come from Sparta. After this he continued ravaging, and plundering, the Enemy's Country, with yery good Success; but at length he grew too rash, and prefuming upon his good Fortune, for, some time after, only wih his 300 Men, he engag'd with the two Kings, and the greatest part of the Spartan Army. This desperate Attempt had like to have been the Ruin of all the Hopes, and Fortunes of the Mellenians; for after a very obstinate Fight on both sides, in which Aristomenes behav'd himself with the utmost Bravery, and receiv'd many Wounds in the other Parts of his Body, he was at length struck to the Ground by a Blow, on the Head, with a Stone. The Lacedamonians, rushing in, took him up senseless, and half dead, and caried him away Prisoner to Sparta, with fifty more of his Company. Upon their Arrival at Sparta, Aristomenes, and his Companions, were condemn'd to be thrown into a deep Cavern call'd Ceadas, the Dungeon into which the Spartans us'd to throw their common Male-Aristomenes, whom Fate had referv'd for yet greater Designs, being, as those Writers fay, who love to magnify his Actions, supported by an Eagle, which spread its Wings under him, was the only Person who surviv'd the Fall. Three Days had

he liv'd in this dismal Cave, pinch'd with Hunger, and almost suffocated with Stench, when he made his Escape by one of the most surprizing Accidents, that was ever heard of. Whilst he lay in this miserable Condition, by chance he heard the Noise of a Fox preying upon a Carcass; wherefore, uncovering his Face, and perceiving by the Glimmering whereabout the Fox was, with one Hand he laid hold of the Fox's Tail, and with the other stopt its Mouth, when it turn'd to bite him, and follow'd till the Way was too strait for him. His Guide being loose ran through a little Hole, at which the welcome Light darting in upon him, Aristomenes work'd his Passage through, with his Nails, and came safe to Era.

The News of Aristomenes's wonderful Escape, being carried to Sparta by some Messenian Deserters, obtain'd fo little Credit there, that they would as foon have believ'd a Man was rifen from the Dead: but he foon convinc'd them that he was alive. For, not long after, having discover'd by his Scouts, that the Corinthians, who came to affilt the Spartans, at the Siege of Era, lay carelelly dispers'd in their Camp, without any Watch, Aristomenes, in the dead of Night, fet upon them, whilst they were asleep, kill'd Hypermenides, Achladaus, Ly/istratus, and Idectus, their chief Commanders, and took their Camp: The Lacedamonians then believ'd and were convinc'd that Aristomenes was alive, by the Destruction, which could be done by no other than himself.

It was now about the Time, when the Anniverfary Solemnity of the Hyacinthia, a Festival celebrated in Honour of the beautiful Hyacinthus, was to be observ'd, at which the Spartans being oblig'd to be present, a Cessation of Arms was proclaim'd for fourty Days. In the mean time the Cretan Archers, from Lystus, and other Cities of Crete, who lay at the Siege, committed all Acts of Hostility,

Era had now held out, ten Years, against the numerous Forces of Sparta, and there yet appear'd little Hopes of taking it. The Messenians still maintain'd their Ground, and kept themselves in Possession of the Field, at the Foot of the Mountain, as far as the River Neda, which divides Messenia from Elis. The Advantage of the River did the better enable them to hold out, but it was not long e're the satal Hour arriv'd, many Years since foretold by the Oracle. Aristomenes and Theoclus, immediately after their Deseat, at the Great

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⁽d) Paufanias in Meffenicis.

Book II. The History of GREECE. 161 Ditch, enquiring at Delphi receiv'd this Answer,

Εστε Τεάγ @ πίνησι Νέδης έλικόρροον ύδως, Ουκ ετι Μεωπίνην ρύομαι. αμθόθεν 30 όλεθς ...

Thy Fate Messene is at hand; and I Only defer thy certain Destiny, Till the Goat drinks swift-flowing Neda's Stream.

They, being deceiv'd by the Ambiguity of the Oracle, took all possible Care, that no He-Goat should drink of the River, but to little purpose, since the Meaning of the God was quite different. Wild-Fig-tree, by most of the other Grecians call'd OAUTO, was by the Meffenians nam'd Teay O: At this time one of these Trees, growing upon the Banks of Neda, did not shoot up into the Air, but bent down so low, that its Leaves, which grew upon the extreme Branches, touch'd the Water. Theoclus, the Soothsayer, seeing this, thought the Oracle was now fatally accomplish'd, and the Fortune of Messene arriv'd to its last Period; Aristomenes alone was made privy to this Secret; and he from the prefent Posture of their Affairs, and other Circumstances, eafily presag'd the near Approach of their Slavery and Ruin. Wherefore, in the dead of Night, going to the most private and unfrequented part of Ithome, he committed to the Ground a certain facred Depositum, which, as Lycus, the Son of Pandion, many Ages since had foretold, being destroy'd, the Messenians should be utterly cut off, but being preferv'd, they should spring up again in greater Splendor, than ever. This he buried in Hopes that Jupiter Ithometes, and the other Gods, who had hitherto defended the Messenian State, would still preserve the sacred, and only Relick of the Messenian Name.

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The time was now arriv'd, when Era, which had stood a tedious Siege of almost eleven Years, was at length betray'd to the Spartans. The Herdsman

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of one Emperamus, a Man of good Note at Sparta, driving his Master's Cattle to water, at the River Neda, very frequently met the Wife of a Messenia. who liv'd without the Walls of Era. This frequent Enterview was the Beginning of an Intrigue between them. The Spartan, being enamour'd with her Beauty, by Degrees obtain'd a very intimate Familiarity with the Woman, and by Presents prevail'd upon her to comply with his lewd Defires. Therefore, he watch'd his Opportunity of accomplishing them, when the Husband was oblig'd to be upon Duty, and keep Garrison: but it so fell out that in a tempestuous Night, when all those, who were appointed to be upon the Watch, by reason of the Weather, quitted their Station, the Husband unexpectedly return'd home. The Messenians, little fuspecting that the Enemy would have made any Motions that Night, and Aristomenes having been dangerously wounded in a late Skirmish with Euryalus, a Spartan, who, with a Party of Apterean Archers, endeavour'd to intercept a Cephallenian Merchant, who furnish'd the Messenians with all manner of Provisions during the Siege, and thereby disabled from taking his wonted Round through the Garrison, the Sentinels deserted their Post with greater Security. It happen'd therefore, that when the Messenian return'd home, the Gallant was with his Wife; but she, having very dexterously convey'd him out of the way, put on a good Countenance, and receiving her Husband with more than ordinary Expressions of Love and Tenderness, askt him what good Fortune brought him back fo foon. Messenian, little suspecting the Falshood of his Wife, or that an Enemy, and Gallant lay conceal'd under his own Roof, very innocently discover'd the Posture of the Garrison. The Spartan no sooner heard this, but, by some means or other, he made his Escape unobserv'd out of the House, and ran immediately with the News to the Spartan Army. Both the King3

Kings being at that time absent, his own Master, Emperamus, was entrusted with the absolute Command of the Army: fo the Herdsman, having first obtain'd Pardon, for his deferting, discover'd all that he had heard from the Messenian's own Mouth.

Emperamus, being unwilling to let so fair an Opportunity flip, notwithstanding it continued raining very hard, and no Moon appear'd to direct their uncertain March, order'd his Herdsman to lead the Way: so that, before the Messenians were aware of his Approach, he scal'd the Fort, and with his whole Army got within the Walls. And now, amongst many other unfortunate Omens, an unusual Howling of Dogs portended the impending Ruin of the Mellenians, who, being under a great Consternation, at this unexpected Affault, with the utmost Diligence, which the fuddain Exigence of their Affairs would permit, prepar'd for a vigorous Defence. The First that took the Alarm of the Enemy's being within the Town, were Aristomenes himself, and his Son Gorgus, Theoclus, and his Son Manticlus, and one Euergetidas, a Man otherwise of good Note amongst the Messenians, but particularly eminent, upon the account of the near Relation he bore to Aristomenes, whose Sister Hagnagora he had marry'd. Aristomenes and Theoclus, who kept in Remembrance the Prediction of the Oracle, were now too well affur'd of its fatal Accomplishment, however they thought it more prudent to conceal it, lest it should spread an universal Damp throughout their Army, which would have been of most pernicious Consequence, especially at a time, which requir'd the utmost Courage and Resolution. Therefore they us d their best Endeavours to animate and encourage their dejected Countrymen, exhorting them to exert their wonted Bravery in the Defence of their Lives and Liberty, and reprimanding those who feem'd flow and remiss in these Extremities. However, nothing remarkable was perform'd, on either

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ther side that Night; the Spartans, partly because they were in a strange Place, and in the dark, and partly out of Fear of Aristomenes, durst not attempt any thing: the Messenians, having received no Orders from their Leaders, lay still till Morning; and, besides this, their Torches were no sooner lighted, but they were either blown out by the Wind, or

extinguisht by the Rain. The next Day was spent in an obstinate and bloody Fight, one fide being incited by the Hopes of putting an end to a tedious, and expensive War, the other enrag'd, by mere Necessity and Despair. The great Advantage the Spartans had in Numbers, was in some Measure balanc'd by the extraordinary Services, done by the Messenian Women, who, although they could not withstand the Fury of the Tempest, upon the Tops of the Houses, yet, from the rising ground annoy'd the Enemy, with Tiles, and whatloever millive Weapons came first to their Hands, with very good Success. Some of them, more brave than the rest, in whom the Hatred of Chains and Slavery bred a manly Contempt of Death, rush'd armed into the Battle, and, by their own Example, taught the Men to be asham'd of Cowardise, and fervile Fear. Notwithstanding, the vigorous and unanimous Endeavours of both Sexes, could not avert their present Destruction, but every thing conspir'd to fill the Messenians with Horrour and Confusion: the Storm redoubled its Force, and continual Lightning flasht in their Faces. The Enemy, on the other hand, interpreted this as a manifest Token of the Gods fighting on their side, especially when it Thunder'd on their Right, which Hecatus pronounc'd to be an Omen of Victory. He advis'd them therefore to make this Advantage of their Numbers, in which they were valtly superior to the Messenians, that when one Party was wearied with Duty, they should supply their Places by another of fresh Men. By this means the Messenians were quite

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tired out; for it was now the third Day and Night, fince the same Men had lain upon the Watch, so that they were almost spent with the continual Fatigue, and the Inclemency of the Season, and pinch'd with Hunger and Thirst: These Difficulties most sensibly touch'd the weaker Sex, who were unus'd to fuch

sharp Service.

Theoclus, now finding it vain to resist, and fight against the Decrees of Fate, was resolv'd to bury himself in the same common Ruin, with his Country; and having glutted himself with the Blood and Slaughter of his Enemies, he at length expir'd of his Wounds. Aristomenes perceiving that the greatest part of his own Men were no longer able to hold out, for want of Relief, drew off his wearied Troops: These, together with the Women and Children, he plac'd in the Middle surrounded by the Flower of his Army, and order'd them all to follow whereever he led the Way. Having posted his Son Gorgus, and Manticlus in the Rear, himself led up the Van, and, brandishing his Spear, march'd boldly on, with a Design to break through the Enemy's Troops, Emperamus, perceiving his Intention, order'd his Soldiers to give way, and open'd him a fair Passage, through which with the rest of his Men, he march'd directly to Arcadia.

The Arcadians upon the first News of Era's being taken, made all Preparations to affift the Mellenians; which being now confirm'd, they unanimously desir'd Aristocrates to lead them out, with a full Refolution, either to restore the Messenians, or die with them. Aristocrates, being corrupted by the Lacedamonians, refus'd to lead them, alledging that it was too late, that all was already loft, and that none were left, to whom they could fend their Assistance. The Arcadians, being afterwards certainly inform'd, that the Mesenians were alive, and oblig'd to abandon Era, met them with Provisions at the Mountain Lycaus, and offer'd them a Part of their Country to

inhabit. Aristomenes, burning with Hatred and Revenge, against the Lacedamonians, chose out of his broken Troops five hundred Men, who, as he well knew, did not desire to survive the good Fortune of their Country. Then, before the whole Multitude of the Arcadians, and in the Presence of Aristocrates, whose former abandoning them at the Great Ditch, he attributed rather to Cowardise than Treachery, he discovered his Design of surprizing Sparta, which he thought to find secure and defenceless, most of the Spartans being employ'd in plundering Messenia. If this design took essent, he did not doubt but that the Spartans would be glad to exchange their Conquest for their own City, and if it fail'd, an honourable Death was the worst that could

be expected.

This Proposal met with such Approbation, that three hundred of the Arcadians immediately offer'd him their Assistance, in the Enterprise: but they being delay'd, by the inauspicious Aspect of the Entrails of the Sacrifice, Aristocrates had time to send an Account of their Refolutions, to Anaxander King of Sparta. The Arcadians, having a long time suspected Aristocrates, intercepted the Messenger, in his Return from Sparta, with Letters from Ana. xander to Aristocrates. These were full of Acknowledgments, not only for his Flight at the Great Ditch, which prov'd of mighty Advantage, to the Spartans, but for his present Information. he added his Assurances, that the Lacedamonians would endeavour to express their Gratitude, both for his prefent, and former Services. This Letter being publickly read, in an Assembly of the Arcadians, the Multitude were so enrag'd at him, that they ston'd him to Death: they encourag'd the Mellemians also to cast Stones at him, but they expected Aristomenes's Orders, who only fixt his Eyes upon the Ground, and wept. The Arcadians cast out of their Territories Aristocrates's Body unbury'd, and,

Book II. The History of GREECE. 167 to perpetuate his Infamy, erected a Pillar, in a Grove, upon the Mountain Lycaus, with this Inscription,

Πάντως όχεόν Φ εύςε δίκην άδικω βασιλήϊ, Εύςε δε Μεωήνης σύν Διὶ τὸν προδότην "Ρηϊδίως" χαλεπόν δε λαθείν θεόν άνδε επίοςκον. Χαϊζε Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, κὸ σκου 'Αρκαδίαν.

The Base Betrayer of Messene's State, Hath met at length a well-deserved Fate: In vain persidious Traytors Justice shun; Hail mighty Jove! and save th' Arcadian Throne.

This was the unfortunate End of Aristocrates, the same which, his Grandsather, Aristocrates, suffer'd many Years before, for having ravish'd the Priestess of Diana Hymnia at the Altar: By the Death of Aristocrates, the younger, the Family of Cypselus was ex-

tinct (e).

The Mellenians, who were taken Prisoners at Era. were reduc'd to the Condition of publick Slaves, at Sparta. Those, who had maintain'd the Garrison of Pylus, and Methone, and the other Inhabitants of the Sea Coasts of Messenia, sail'd to Cyllene, a Port of Elis; and from thence made their Escape, to the other Messenians, in Arcadia, to advise with them about some Country, where they should plant them-They all unanimously desir'd Aristomenes to be the Leader of their Colony, but he protested, that, as long as he liv'd, he would carry on the War against Sparta, and that he did not doubt but he should yet create the Spartans some new Troubles. In the mean time, Euergetidas, with the rest of the Messenians, who surviv'd the Fate of Era, came also to the Mountain Lycaus, where finding that Aristomenes's Design of invading Sparta had miscarried, with fifty of his Company he return'd to Era, where he gave Diversion to the Spartans, who were ra-

⁽e) Pausanias in Arcadicis.

vaging the Country, and was at length himself kill'd, after he had made a great Slaughter of the Enemy. Aristomenes declar'd Gorgus, and Manticlus, Leaders of the Colony, and gave leave to as many as were willing to try their Fortune, in another Country, to follow them: Whereupon all the Meffenians gave in their Names to this Expedition, except some few, whom Old-age, or the want of Provision detain'd in Arcadia. Thus, with the taking of Era, ended the fecond Messenian War, Autosthenes being Archon at Olymp. Athens, in the first Year of the twenty-eighth Olym-

A. M. piad, in which Chionis, a Lacedemonian, obtain'd the

3336. Victory (f).

The Mellenians, under their two Leaders, affembled at Cyllene, and winter'd there. In the Beginning of the following Spring, they confulted which way they should steer their Course. Gorgus propos'd to them the Island Zacynthus, from whence they might make frequent Descents, and ravage the Territories of La-But Manticlus was of Opinion, that it was better to forget their Native Country Messenia, and the Injuries, which they had receiv'd from the Spartans; and immediately fail to Sardinia, a very large, and fruitful Island. In the mean time Anaxilas, a Messenian, King of Rhegium, in Italy, the fourth in Descent from one Alcidamidas, a Messenian, who, after the Death of Aristodemus, and the taking of Ithome, in the first Messenian War, made his Escape into Italy, sent to invite his Country-men into those Parts. The Mellenians, accepting his Offer, fail'd to Rhegium, and, upon their Arrival, found Anaxilas engag'd in a War, with the Inhabitants of Zancle, a Town in Sicily, fituated in a very fruitful, and pleasant Soil, which he promis'd them should be their own, if they could take it. Anaxilas himself assisted the Messenians in the Enterprize, and assaulted Zancle by Sea, whilst the Messenians be-

⁽f) Paufanias in Meffenicis.

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slieg'd it by Land: at length part of the Walls being taken, the Inhabitants sled for Sanctuary to the Altars of their Gods. Anaxilas would have kill'd the Suppliants, or enslav'd them, with their Wives and Children; but Gorgus and Manticlus, notwithstanding they themselves had sufferd so much from those of their own Blood, were unwilling to exercise any Cruelty towards Greeks. For, though Zancle was at first peopled by Pirates, yet, afterwards others were admitted, from several Parts of Greece. For this reason, the Messenians suffer'd them to enjoy their Liberty, and both of them being incorporated into one People, instead of Zancle, the City was called Messene. Thus the Messenians settled themselves in Sicily, in the first Year of the twenty-ninth Olymp.

Olympiad, in which Chionis, the Lacedamonian, ob 29 1. tain'd the Victory, a second time, Miltiades being A. M.

Archon at Athens (g).

As for Aristomenes, he still continued in Greece, and having first married his Sister Hagnagora to Tharyx of Phigalia, he match'd his Daughters also into very honourable Families: His Eldest to Damothoides, of Leprea, the Second to Theopompus, of Heraa. After this, he went to confult the Oracle at Delphi, but what Answer he receiv'd is not known; here he accidentally met Damagetus, King of Jalysus, in the Island Rhodos, who consulting the Oracle, from whence he should take a Wife, the Pythia told him he should marry the best Man's Daughter in Greece. Aristomenes having one Daughter yet unmarried, Damagetus desir'd her to be given him in Marriage, because he thought her Father was the Person intended by the Oracle. From hence therefore Aristomenes went with his Daughter to Rhodos, with a Design to go from thence to Sardis, Ardys, the Son of Gyges, being then King of Lydia, and thence to Echatana, to Phraortes King of the Medes. But this Design

⁽g) Pausanias in Messenicis.

was prevented by a Distemper, of which he fell fick, and died in the Island Rhodos (h). There goes a Story that, when he was taken, the third time by the Lacedamonians, they, out of a Curiofity to fee whether there was any thing more in him, than other Men, because he had perform'd such extraordinary Exploits, cut open his Body, and found his Heart to be hairy (i). He was a Man of the greatest Courage and Bravery, which that Age produc'd. For, almost purely by his own Personal Valour, he maintaind the Garrison of Era, eleven, and prolong'd the War, above fixteen Years, against all the Powers of Sparta. During this war, he thrice celebrated the Hecatomphonia, a Sacrifice perform'd by those who kill'd an hundred of the Enemy, in Battle, with their own Hands: the first time, he perform'd it, was on the account of his Success at the Boars Monument; the second, when he fell upon, and took, the Corinthian Camp, and the last of all was, in some other Excursion; in which he kill'd as many, if not more of the Enemy (k). His many remarkable Escapes, and particularly that out of the Ceadas, occasion'd him to be thought the peculiar Favourite of Heaven; and till his last bad Fortune, his Enemies look'd upon him as invincible: and it is not improbable, that he would at least have difappointed the vain Projects of the Spartan Ambition, had not all his Counfels, and Defigns, unfeafonably been discover'd, by secret Enemies, and false Friends, who defeated his Noble and Generous Purpofes. However, amidst all the Plunder, and Waste of his Country, Era being taken, and all Meffenia entirely subdued, Aristomenes alone remain'd invincible; he still breath'd out Threats against the Spartans, and defign'd nothing less, than the utter Ruin of their Common-wealth. If he had liv'd, he would yet have created them some farther Troubles; for, in all

⁽h) Pausanias ibidem. (i) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 11.c. 37. Steph. Byzant. in voce 'Arduia. (k) Pausanias in Messenicis.

Probability, his intended Journey to Sardis, and Ecbatana, was upon no other Design, than to bring down the Lydian and Medick Arms, upon the Spartans: but Death preventing all his great Designs, the Spartans were deliver'd from all farther Apprehensions of Danger. Aristomenes was very honourably interr'd, in the Island Rhodos, by his Son-inlaw, Damagetus, who erected a fair Monument to him; and the Inhabitants of the Island paid all other Honours, due to the Memory of so great a Man (1).

After the Conclusion of the second Messenian War, and the Death of Aristomenes, Greece enjoy'd a profound Quiet, and Repose, till it was again disturb'd by Cypselus, who usurp'd, and chang'd the Government of Corinth; concerning which City, we have fo little remarkable, and that, without any Dependence upon the other Transactions, either of this, or the former Age of Greece, that it was not worth while to break the Thred of the Story, to relate it. The Sum of its History therefore is as follows. The Family of Sisyphus, the Founder of the City, being extinct, or, as some say, expell'd the City, by the Heraclide, the Kingdom pass'd into the Family of Hercules, in the Person of Aletes, the Son of Hippotes, who was banish'd out of Peloponnesus, at the A. M. Command of the Oracle, for having kill'd the Pro- 2920. phet Carnus (m). Aletes was succeeded by a numerous Train of Kings, of his own Family, concerning whom we have little more left, than their Names, and length of their Reigns (n). Bacchis, the fifth from Aletes, being more remarkable than his Ancestors, all his Successors were, from him, call'd Bacchiadae, whereas the Kings, before him, went by the Name of Heraclide. Aristomedes the eighth, leaving-a Son nam'd Telestes, committed him to the A. M. Care of Agemon his Brother, who, usurping the 3059.

⁽¹⁾ Pausanias ibidem. (m) See above, Page 85. (n) Euseb. in Chronic, G. Monach, excerpt. ex Diodor. Sic.

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Ilgularis (p).

Thus the Monarchy fell into an Aristocracy, and Corinth, continued under this Form of Government, and in Possession of the Bacchiadæ, about one hundred and twenty Years, when Cyplelus recover'd the Power into the Hands of a fingle Person. The Bacchiada, being in Possession of the Government, to fecure the Succession in their own Family, would not mix with any other Blood. Amphion, one of the Bacchiade, had a lame Daughter, nam'd Labda, who, upon the Account of her Natural Deformity, being despis'd, by all of her own Family, was married to Ection, the Son of Echecrates, of the Burrough call'd Petra, descended, at a great Distance, from Caneus, one of the Lapitha, famous in the Fables of the Eetion, having no Children, either by his Wife, or any other Woman, consulted the Delphian Oracle, about Issue, and receiv'd an obscure Antwer, which, as far as the Ambiguity of the Exprellion seem'd to intimate, was, that Labda should conceive an Off-spring, which should be a Scourge This receiv'd farther Light from, and help'd to explain, a former Oracle deliver'd to the Bacchiadæ, which by reason of the Ambiguity

⁽o) Pausanias in Corinthiacis. (p) Eusebius & Diodorus ut supra.

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of the Word, nilea, signifying the Burrough of that Name, or a Rock, could not perfectly be understood. The Substance of it, as they now gather'd by the Pythias's Answer to Eetion, was, that an Eagle in the Burrough, call'd Petra, should bring forth a Lion, which should kill many of the Corin-

thians (q).

Therefore, when Labda was deliver'd, the Bacchiada deputed ten, of their own Body, to go, and murder the Child; thefe, in their way to Eetion's House, agreed, that he, to whom, the Infant was deliver'd, should dash out its Brains; so that, Labda, being ignorant of their Defign, and supposing, that they came, to congratulate the Father, upon the Birth of his Son, very innocently deliver'd her Child, whom, as the Event shew'd, Fate had referv'd to fulfil the Oracle. For, when one of the Bacchiade took him into his Arms, the Child smiling. in the Face of his intended Murderer, mov'd him with fo much Pity, that he could not kill it, but deliver'd it to another of his Companions, who gave it to a Third; and, thus it was handed from one to another, till at length it pass'd through the Hands of all ten, and was restor'd safe to the Mother. When they were gone out of the House, they began to upbraid one another, for not executing their Orders, but, especially him, who first took the Child, for not performing their private Agreement. Wherefore, after some debate, they resolv'd to go in again, and be equal Sharers in the Murder. Labda, in the mean time, over-hearing all their Discourfe. convey'd the Child out of the way, and hid it, under a Measure of Corn, call'd Kulian, a place, which she thought they would never fearch, if they did return. And it fell out according to her Expectations, for after they had examin'd the House, as narrowly as they could, and found not the Child, they were

⁽q) Herodot, 1.5.

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forc'd to return, and pretend they had executed their Orders; and the Boy, being thus preserv'd, from the Measure under which he was hid, receiv'd the Name

of Cypselus.

When he arriv'd at Man's Estate, he consulted the Oracle at Delphi, which obscurely intimated to him, that, he should be King of Corinth, and his Sons after him, but not his Grandsons. In Confidence of this Answer, he usurp'd the Government, having first fent the chief of the Bacchiade, on a pretended Message to Delphi, to consult the Oracle, about the Common Safety of the Corinthians. The Bacchiadae no sooner left the City, but he publish'd an Edict, forbidding them to return; fo that having remov'd those, out of the way, who were most concern'd, to preserve the present Establishment, he obtain'd the Kingdom with little or no Opposition (r). So that, as fome have observ'd, the Government was dissolv'd, by the Ease and Luxury of the Bacchiada (s). Upon his first Accession to the Throne, he treated his Subjects with very great Severity, depriving many of their Estates, and more of their Lives (t); fo that, to avoid the Fury of the Tyrant, the Corinthians left the City, in great Numbers. Amongst the rest that made their Escape, was one Demaratus, of the Family of the Bacchiada, who passing over into Italy, and fettling at Tarquinii, a City of Hetruria, had two Sons, Aruns and Lucumo. The younger of these afterwards going to Rome, obtain'd the Kingdom under the Name of Tarquinius (u). Cypselus, after he was fettled in the Government, laid aside his former Cruelty, and treated his Subjects with fo much Mildness, that he gain'd such a Love and Esteem amongst the People, as to want no Guard about his Person. This Change fell out about thirteen Years, after the second Messenian War, and thirty, after the Establishment

⁽t) Polyan. Strategem. l. 5. (s) Ælian. Var. Hift. l. 1. c- 19. (t) Herodot. l. 5. (u) T. Liv. l. 1. Dionys. Hal. Rom. Antiq. l. 3. M. T. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. 5. Strabo l. 8

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of the Annual Archontes, at Athens, in the second Year of the thirty first Olympiad.

About the time of Cypselus's usurping the Govern-Olympia ment of Corinth, many Cities were built, and Colo- 31. 2. nies planted, by the Afratick Greeks. Isthmus, and A. M. Borysthenes, in Pontus, by the Milesians; Lampsacus 3349. in the Hellespont by the Phocaenses; and Abdera in Thrace, formerly founded by Diomedes the Thracian's Sifter, and afterwards being depopulated, was now rebuilt by a Colony from Clazomena (w). The Leader of this Colony, was Timefius, of Clazomena. who, instead of meeting with deferv'd Thanks, for building the City, was expell'd by the Thracians: but, he was afterwards worship'd, as an Hero, at Abdera (x). In the third Year of, the same Olym- A.M. piad, Selinus, in Sicily, was built by the Megarenses. 3350.

Not many Years after this, Grinus, the Son of Asanius, King of Thera, one of the Islands, call'd 33. 1. Sporades, consulting the Oracle at Delphi, was com- A M. manded to build a City in Libya. Grinus neglecting 3356. to perform the Command of the Oracle, because he was ignorant, in what Part of the World Libya lay, the God in Vindication of his Authority, which was thus contemn'd, inflicted a very heavy Punishment, upon the Island Thera. For, no Rain fell there, for the Space of about feven Years, fo that all the Trees, except one, in the Island, wither'd away (y). Inhabitants of Thera, being forely distress'd by a Famine, and finding no Remedy, fent to Crete; where, in a City, call'd Itanus, they found one Corobius, who had formerly been driven, by Winds, to Platea, an Island, upon the Coasts of Libya. Having prevail'd with him to go home with them to Thera, some few of the Thereans went on board, with Corobius, to view the Island Platea. Being arriv'd there, part of the Thereans immediatley return'd to Thera, to give their Countrymen an Account of the new

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⁽w) Jul. Solin. Polyhistor. c, 10. (x) Herodot. l. 1. c. 168. (y) Herodot, l. 4. c. 150, 151. Dif-

Discover'd Island. Corobius was left, in Platea, with Provisions for two Months, in which time, the Thereans, propos'd to be with him again: but they being some way or other detain'd beyond their appointed time, Corobius's Provisions were quite spent, when a Samian Ship, bound homewards from Agypt, put in at Platea; the Samians, being inform'd of Corobius's Necessity, left him a Year's Provision, and sail'd to Tartesus.

out of their seven Towns, man'd two Galleys, and fent them under the Command of one Battus, otherolymp. wise call'd Aristeas, or Aristoteles, the Son of Po35. 1. lymnestus, to Platea, where they built a City of the

A. M. fame Name with the Island. The new Colony was 3364 settled here about two Years, when finding themfelves, in the same Distress, as they were at Thera, all of them, except one, whom they lest in Platea, sail'd to Delphi, to enquire the reason, why their Affairs succeeded no better, since they came to Libya. The Pythia answer'd them, that, they had not yet perform'd the Command of the Oracle, which order'd them to build a City in Libya: whereupon, they sail'd back to Platea, and, taking their Companion, whom they lest there, went, and inhabited a City, in Libya, over-against Platea, call'd Aziristus, very pleasantly situated amongst Hills, and surrounded by a River, on both Sides (a).

Whilst the Thereans were at Aziristus, the Cimmerians being driven out of their own Country, by the Scythian Nomades, slockt in vast Numbers into Asia, and planted the Chersonesus, wherein, the facolymp mous Grecian City, Sinope, was, about the same 37. 2. time, rebuilt, in great Splendor. This City was according to most Accounts, very Ancient. Some make it to have been built by one Autolycus, the Son of Deimachus, a Companion of Hercules, in his

⁽a) Herodot, ibid. c. 157.

War against the Amazons (z): or, of Jason, in the Expedition of the Argonautæ (a). This is not improbable; for at Sinope was a Statue of Autolycus, and the Inhabitants paid Divine Honours to him, as the Founder of their City (b). Others trace its Original from a more ancient Date, and fay, that Sinope, the Daughter of Asopus, being brought into this Country, gave Name to this City (c): and others ascribe it to Sinope, one of the Amazons (d). Phlegon, in Stephanus, fays it was built by one Critias, of the Island Cos, who, in the Opinion of a learned Man, was Leader of a Colony of Milesians (e), who, by the concurrent Testimonies of feveral Authors, are said to have built this City, and planted a Colony in it (f). This happen'd in the fecond Year of the thirty-feventh Olympiad, according to Eusebius (g).

It was the feventh Year, from the Thereans fettling at Aziristus, when, through the Perswasion of the Libyans, they remov'd from thence, to a City, call'd Irasa (h). Near this place was a Fountain dedicated to Apollo; not far distant from which, Battus built the famous City Cyrene, so call'd, either from a beautiful Virgin of that Name, the Daughter of Hypseus, King of Thessaly, whom Apollo ravish'd, having first convey'd her from the Mountain Pelius, to the Mountain Cyra, upon which the City was built (i); or from a Fountain of the same Name (k). In this City Battus planted a Greek Colony, after which, as the Oracle had obscurely foretold, he was freed from a natural Impediment in his Speech, from which he had receiv'd the Name of Battus, which, in the Greek Language, fignifies one who stammers in

⁽²⁾ Plutarch in Lucullo. (a) Strabo l. 12. (b) Plutarch. & Strabo ibid. (c) Dionys. Πηειήγ. (d) Andron. apud Etymol. in voce Σινώπη. (e) Stephanus Byz. in voce Σινώπη. Salmafius in loco. (f) Xenophon. de Exp. Cyri, l. 6. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Strabo, l. 12. (g) Euseb. in Chronic. (h) Herodor. l. 4. 158. (i) Justin. l. 13. c. 7. (k) Steph. Byz. in voce Kugńrn.

his Speech. For upon the fight of a Lion, he was fo affrighted, that, with the Consternation, the Strings of his Tongue were loos'd, and he spake plain (1). The building of this City by the Milesians is plac'd, by Eusebius, in the second Year of the thirty-seventh Olymp. Olympiad (m), tho' others bring it much lower (n).

37. 2. Battus, after a Reign of forty Years, transmitted A. M. the Government of his Colony, to his Son Arcefilaus,

3373. who reign'd fixteen. From him it pass'd to his Son Battus, the second of that Name, under whose Reign, vast Multitudes of the Greeks, at the Perfwasion of the Delphian Oracle, came, and incorporated themselves, with the Colony, at Cyrene. This, falling in with the Reign of Aprias, King of Egypt (0), has given Occasion to the learned Primate of Armagh, to be of Opinion, that Eusebius's Account, of building Cyrene, comes nearer the Truth, than any of the Times affix'd by other Chronologers (p).

Whilst these things were transacted abroad, Cyp-Selus enjoy'd a quiet Reign, at Corinth, free from the Commotions, which generally attend Governments, establish'd by Violence. However, Cypselus, by his extraordinary Clemency, through the whole Course of his Reign, except the Beginning of it, (and his Severities then, seem to be what the Posture of his Affairs requir'd, rather than the Effects of his natural Temper) preferv'd himself upon the Throne thirty Years. Then he died, leaving two 38. 4. Sons, Periander and Gordias; the former of these,

A. M. being the Elder, succeeded his Father, in the 3379 Kingdom.

About the time of Periander's Accession to the Kingdom of Corinth, Athens, which had hitherto stood, not without great Difficulties, occasioned by the long and frequent Diffentions, wherewith the was shaken, again fell into her old inveterate Di-

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⁽¹⁾ Pausanias in Phocicis. (m) Euseb. in Chronic. (n) Jul. Solin. Polyhistor. c. 27. in quem locum vid. Salmas. Exercitat. Plinian. (0) Herodot. l. 4. c. 159. (p) Uffer. Annal. ad A.M. 3373. itemper.

Book II. The History of GREECE. 179 stemper. New Quarrels and Factions sprung up every Day, fo that there could be no Agreement, either as to Religion, or the Administration of civil Affairs. The ignorant Multitude were alarm'd at every thing, as an Invalion of their Liberties, and the more furious, and violent, were upon every flight Occasion ready to proceed to an open Rupture. But now at length the common Calamities made all Parties wife, and they unanimously refolv'd, to prevent any future Mischief, to pitch upon a single Perfon, of Wisdom and Integrity, who should give, all the contending Parties, some constant Rule and Measure of their Proceedings, and frame them a Body of good and useful Laws. The Person, appointed to this Work, was one Draco, a Man of approv'd Vertues, and Abilities, and Archon in the first Year, of the thirty-ninth Olympiad (q). He re- Olymp. form'd many Abuses crept into the State, and made se- 39. 1. veral Alterations in their Courts of Justice, especially A. M. that of the Ephetæ. This was a very ancient Court, 3380. first erected under the Reign of Demophoon, the Son of Theseus, upon Occasion of the Athenians having unwillingly kill'd fome of their Countrymen, the Grecians. Diomedes, or according to others, Lgamemnon, in his Return from Troy, being driven upon the Coasts of Attica, in the Night, landed his Men, at the Port, call'd Phalerus. They imagining, that they were in an Enemy's Country, began to plunder, and ravage all before them, and the Athenians, being alarm'd at this unexpected Affault, made by they knew not whom, made head against them, under the Command of Demophoon, kill'd a great Number of them, and forc'd the rest to retire to their Ships. Upon the Break of Day, Minerva's Statue, call'd Palladium, which they brought from Troy, being found amongst the slain, discover'd to the Athenians, that the Slaughter, which they had made, was of

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⁽q) Clem, Alex, Stromat. l. 1, Euseb, in Chronic. Suidas in voce Δεέκων.

⁽r) Archaolog. Grac. 1. 1. c. 28.

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first, that were publish'd in Writing, amongst the Grecians. Two of them are mention'd by Pausanias, one concerning inanimate things, which accidentally were the Occasion of a Man's Death (s), another, concerning Adulterers (t). They were all of them fo extremely rigorous, and, as fome think, preparing the way for the Doctrine of the Stoicks, that the flightest Offences met with equal Punishment, to the most heinous Crimes. For, those who were convicted of Idleness, were to die, those who stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, to fuffer as the most profligate Villains, who committed Sacriledge or Murder. Draco himfelf being ask'd why he made no Distinction in Penalties, he made Answer, because the least Faults appear'd to him worthy of Death, and he could invent no greater Punishment for the highest Crimes. Hereupon, Demadas, in Plutarch, wittily fays, That his Laws were written, not with Ink, but with Blood; and, they met with the Fate of all violent things, being in a short time abolish'd, and quite laid aside (11).

From the Continent of Europe, we once again pals over into Asia, where a very long War was carried on, between the Milesians, and Halyattes, King of Lydia. His Father, Sadyates, the fix last Years of Olympi his Reign, was engag'd in this Quarrel, fo that 40. 2. Halyattes succeeded to a Crown, embarass'd with A. M. many Difficulties. Under Ardys his Grandfather's 3385, Reign, the Cimmerians, being expell'd their ancient Seats, by the Scythian Nomades, came into Asia, and took all the Imperial City Sardis, except the Citadel. Here they continued all Sadyattes's Reign; but his Son Halyattes, being a valiant, and warlike Prince, recover'd his City, and drove the Cimmerians out of Asia. Besides this, he took Smyrna, a City built by the Inhabitants of Colophon, and made an Attempt upon Clazomena, in which he fail'd. However the

⁽s) Pausanias Eliac. 2. (t) Idem in Bæoticis. (u) Plutarch.

War against the Milesians, which was transmitted to him by his Father, he carried on with good Success. Every Year, about the time when Corn was ripe, Halyattes led down his Forces upon them, and burnt up all their Harvest. After this manner the Milesians were harass'd, about eleven Years, during which time, Halyattes gave them two very great Blows, one in Limineium, a Place in the Territories of Miletus, another, upon the Plains of Meander. Yet they still held out, against his powerful Forces, being assisted by the Islanders of Chios, alone, of all their Ionian Confederates: these came to the Relief of the Milesians, in Gratitude to them, for their having formerly assisted them, against the Erythreans (w).

In the twelfth Year of the War, Halyattes, about olymp. the usual time, making his Descent, set Fire to their A. M. Corn, which by the help of a brisk Wind, spread area it self to a Temple of Minerva Allesia, and burnt it

3390. it felf to a Temple of Minerva Affesia, and burnt it to the Ground. This, at that time, was taken no notice of, but Halyattes, upon his Return home, fell dangerously ill, and, his Distemper hanging upon him, a considerable time, sent to Delphi, to consult the Oracle, about his Recovery: but the Pythia refus'd to answer, till Minerva's Temple was rebuilt. Periander, Tyrant of Corinth, having, by some means or other, got Intelligence of what the Pythia faid, fent an Account of it to Thrasybulus, Tyrant of Miletus, that, by this timely notice, he might order his Affairs to greater Advantage. Halyattes, upon the Return of his Messenger from Delphi, sent Ambassadors to Miletus, to negotiate about a Peace, whilst he rebuilt Minerva's Temple. Thrasybulus, who had fecret Intelligence, of all Halyattes's intended Measures, whilst the Ambassadors were on their Journey to Miletus, order'd his Subjects to expose all their Corn, and to feast, and drink,

⁽w) Herodot. l. 1. c. 17. .

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in the Market-place (x). In this Posture were the Milesians, when the Lydian Ambassadors enter'd the City, who, upon their Return to Sardis, gave their Master an Account, of all that they had seen at Miletus. Halyattes was surprized to hear of the wonderful Plenty, and Mirth, at Miletus; for he imagin'd, that after eleven Years Disappointment of their Harvest, and the Expences of a long War, the Inhabitants must of Necessity be ready to starve, for want of Provision. This Account, so contrary to his Expectations, made him despair of taking the City, fo that he thought it adviseable, to make a Peace with the Milesians, upon any Terms, rather than carry on the War. Halvattes therefore enter'd into a Confederacy with the Milesians, and instead of one, built two Temples to Minerva Assesia. Thus, by the Assistance of Periander, and the Policy of Thrasybulus, Miletus was preferv'd; and a very honourable Peace obtain'd.

We may now return again into Europe, where we left Periander, in Possession of his Father Cypselus's Kingdom of Corinth. In the Beginning of his Reign, he was much milder than his Father, but, in the Course of his Government, he as much exceeded him in the other Extreme, of Harshness and Cruelty. There are different Reasons affign'd, for this strange reverse of his former Temper. Some ascribe it to his Correspondence with Thrasybulus, Tyrant of Miletus, with whom he contracted a very intimate Acquaintance, having formerly, in his Father's time, before he came to the Crown of Corinth, been kindly receiv'd by him, at Miletus (y). For, fending a Messenger to Miletus, for his Friend's Advice, about the best means to establish himself, in the Government, Thrasybulus took the Messenger into a Corn-field, and, detaining him with a great many trifling Questions, about his Journey from Corinth,

⁽x) Polyan. Stratag. l. 6. c. 47. Herodot. l. 1. c. 21. (y) Diog Lacrt, in Periand.

of this Advice to Thrasybulus (a).

Others think the Occasion, of his Cruelty, was his being discover'd, in his Amours with his own Mother, Cratea. She had always lov'd him from his Infancy, with the utmost Passion, of the most fond and indulgent Mother. When he was young, fhe hardly ever fuffer'd him to be out of her Company; and, as he grew up, her Fondness of him encreas'd, till by Degrees, her, at first innocent, Passion kindled into unlawful Defire. Being no longer able to subdue her unnatural Lust, she had the Confidence to tell her Son, a beautiful Lady was fallen in Love with him, and advis'd him, not to despise her Passion. He answer'd, he would not transgress Law and Vertue, by touching a married Woman. She press'd him with Entreaties, till at last he consented: then she appointed a Night, in which the Lady should come, laying this Caution upon him, that he should have no Light in his Chamber, and that he must excuse the Lady from speaking, upon the Account of her Modesty. Periander having engag'd himself to do every thing, as she had directed, she her self went at the Night appointed, and left him before Day. In this manner she came frequently to his Bed; and Periander, being every time more desirous, to know who fhe was, told his Mother, it was very unreasonable he should be denied the Favour of seeing, and converfing with one, who honour'd him with a much nearer Acquaintance. She still put him off with a Story of the Lady's Modesty: however, Periander

⁽z) Herodot. l. 5. c. 92. (a) Aristot. Politic. l. 3. c. 9. 6

was resolv'd to satisfy his Curiosity in this matter, and therefore order'd a Light to be hid, in his Room. The next time she came, when she was fall asleep, he discover'd her to be his own Mother, and, being distracted with Amazement, and Horror, had like to have kill'd her, if, as the Story goes, he had not been with-held by some Genius or Apparition. Cratea, being now discover'd, kill'd her self; and, Periander, when it came to be publickly known, grew

very cruel (b).

From this time he was observ'd to be very much dejected, and over-run with Melancholly, fullen, and morose, to all that were about him. He now began to dispatch all those, who escap'd the Storm, under his Father's Reign; he became extreamly jealous, a Passion which never fails those Princes, who choose rather to be fear'd, than lov'd by their Subjects. Therefore he, contrary to his Father's Example, appointed three hundred Guards to attend about his Person. He would not fuffer the Citizens to live in the City, or to keep Servants: any Man that was feen fitting in the Market-place, was fin'd: He took great care to prevent Idleness, and if any one was without Business, he fet him to work. For he was afraid, lest his Subjects, for want of other Employment, should form some treasonable Designs against him (c). Of all the sad Effects of his Cruelty, the most barbarous was that committed upon his Wife Lyside, or, as he call'd her, Melissa, the Daughter of Procles, King of Epidaurus, whom, at the Instigation of his Whores, he kill'd with a Kick, upon her Belly, when fhe was big with Child. After her Death, he fent to Thesprotia, upon the River Acheron, to enquire by Necromancy, concerning a Depositum. Melissa appearing, faid she would not tell where it lay, because she was cold, and naked, the Cloths, wherein the was buried, doing her no good, because they

⁽b) Diog. Laert, in Periand. (c) Suidas in voce Megen Seet.

were not burnt, and she farther added, that, Periander had put Bread into a cold Oven. This Answer made good the Suspicion, that, Periander, through excess of Lust, had lain with his Wise, after she was dead. Periander, receiving this Answer, commanded all the Corinthian Women, dress'd in their best and richest Cloths, to assemble themselves at Juno's Temple, to celebrate a Festival to the Goddess. When they came, he gave Orders to a Guard of Soldiers, whom he had lay'd in Ambush, to strip them all, without Distinction, whether Free-women or Servants; and, having burnt their Cloths, at Meliss's Grave, he sent a second time, to enquire concerning the Depositum, and then she discover'd

where it lay (d).

Melissa left him one Daughter, and two Sons, Cypselus, the Elder, about eighteen Years old, very dull and stupid, and almost a Natural; and Lycophron, the Younger, not above seventeen, very ingenious. After the Murder of their Mother, their Grandfather, Procles, fent for them to Epidaurus, where he bred them up with the utmost Indulgence, as being Children of his own Daughter. Before they return'd to their Father, he faid to them, Do you know, Boys, who kill'd your Mother? Cypselus took little notice of this Saying, but it left fuch an Impression upon Lycophron's Mind, that, when he came to Corinth, he would not discourse with his Father, nor speak to him, nor so much as give him an Answer to any Question; for by his Grandfather's Saying he was well affur'd, that he had murder'd his Mother. Periander was so enrag'd at the unaccountable Sullenness of his Son, that he turn'd him out of his House: then he enquir'd of his elder Brother, what their Grandfather faid to them, when they came away. Cypselus related to him how kindly, they had been us'd by their Grandfather, but

⁽d) Herodot. l. 5. c. 92.

faid nothing of what he spake to them at their parting. Periander thought it impossible, but that he must have said something, and therefore still press'd him more earnestly; at length Cypselus recollected himself, and told him what Procles said to them. Then Periander fent to those who receiv'd Lycophron, and forbad them to take him into their Houses; Lycophron therefore went from them, to others of his Acquaintance, who knowing him to be Periander's Son, receiv'd him, though not without Fear of being discover'd. At length Periander proclaim'd, that whoever receiv'd him into their House, or spake to him, should pay to Apollo, whatever Fine he himself should impose upon them. From that time none receiv'd him into their Houses, or spake to him, but he spent his time in the Publick Portico's. Four Days after this Periander, feeing him almost starv'd, took Compassion of him, and gently reproving him for his obstinate Behaviour towards him, would have been reconcil'd to him. But Lycopbron made him a very furly Answer, bidding him pay his Fine to Apollo, for speaking to him. Periander, now finding it impossible to reduce his Son to a better Temper, fent him to Corcyra, an Island in the Ionian Sea, over-against Epirus, a Colony planted by the Corinthians, and therefore under his Government. Then he made War upon his Father-in-law, Procles, who had been the chief Cause of the Quarrel, between him and his Son. He took Epidaurus, and therein Procles himself alive (e).

Here we shall leave *Periander* for some time, while we relate some remarkable Occurrences, which happen'd in the other Parts of *Greece*. The Island *Lesbos* was, at this time, the Scene of some confiderable Transactions. *Mitylene*, the chief City of the Island, being a long time shaken with Factions and Sedition, some ambitious Men made their Ad-

⁽e) Herodot. 1. 3. c. 50, \$1, 52.

vantage of these Divisions, and usurp'd the Government. The most remarkable of these, were Myrolymp. sylus, the Cleanactida, and Megalagyrus, or Melan
1. chrus. At this time Pittacus, the Son of Hyrrha-

42. 1. chrus. At this time Pittacus, the Son of Hyrrha-A. M. dius, a Thracian, by a Woman of the Island Lesbos, gave a very eminent Proof of his Courage, and great Zeal for the Liberty of his Country. With the Assistance of Alcaus, the famous Lyrick Poet's Brethren, he kill'd Melanchrus, and expell'd the rest out of the City. As for Alcaus, though he inveigh'd very sharply against the other Tyrants, and especially against Pittacus, whom he makes one of them, in his Verses call'd Eromoliza, yet he himself was fuspected of feditious Practices, and therefore was either banish'd with the other Tyrants, or voluntarily left the City. The Tyrants, during their Banishment, us'd their utmost Diligence to recover the Government, and under the Conduct of Alcaus, and his Brother Antimenides, made War upon Mitylene (f). Pittacus, being the only Man able to repel the present Danger, was created King, with absolute Authority, during the War. In this Enterprize, Alcaus was taken Prisoner, and brought alive to Pittacus, who, notwithstanding all the bitter Invectives, which the Poet had wrote against him, dismis'd him with this gentle Admonition, That now be had it in his Power to crush him. After he had put an End to this War, and settled Affairs in the City, he laid down the Government.

A M. ated King, with the same absolute Power. For, Mitylene was but just freed from the Danger, threaten'd by the banish'd Tyrant, when she was engag'd with a much more formidable Enemy. The Quartel was about Sigeum, a Town in Troas, the greatest part of which Country the Lesbians challeng'd, as

⁽f) Ariftot. Politic. I. 3. c. 10.

their Hereditary Right, because, as they pretended. they had built many Houses there. The Inhabitants of Mitylene claim'd a Right in Sigeum, as being built of the Stones of old Troy, by one Archanax, of their own City (g). The Athenians oppos'd this Claim. alledging that the Loles, from whom the Lesbians fprung, had no more Right to the Country, than themselves, or any of the other Gracians, who affifted at the Siege of Troy (h). Therefore they fent one Phrynon, who had obtain'd the Victory in the Race, at the Celebration of the thirty-fixth Olympiad (i), with a Fleet, who took Sigeum. Pittacus, being, by the unanimous Confent of his Citizens, declar'd General, went out to oppose him. and was repuls'd feveral times. Alcans, the Poet. probably out of his inveterate Hatred to Pittacus. fays, that in one Battle, having fled, and loft his Armour, he order'd it to be proclaim'd, that he had made his Escape safe to his own House. The Athenians afterwards finding his Shield, dedicated it to Minerva (k). At length it was agreed to end the Quarrel in fingle Combat, Pittacus having fent a Challenge to Phrynon, or, as some fay, Phrynon to Pittacus. When they came to engage, Pittacus, who had hid a Net under his Shield; on a suddain entangled Phrynon, and killing him recover'd Sigeum (1). From this Stratagem of Pittacus the same way of fighting, amongst the Roman Gladiators, call'd Retiarii, was deriv'd (m). Herodotus, who makes mention of this Quarrel between the Mityleneans and Athenians, passes over both Pittacus, and Phrynon in Silence, and makes the War to be carried on by the Poet Alcaus, who being put to flight, lost his Armour, which the Athenians hung up in Minerva's Temple, at Sigeum: at length Periander, Tyrant of Corintb,

⁽g) Strabo l. 13. p. 599. (h) Herodot. l. 5. c. 94. (i) Euseb. in Chronic. (k) Alcaus apud Strabon. l. 13. p. 600. (l) Strabo ibid. Diog. Laert. in Pittaco. (m) Polyan. Stratagem. l. 1. c. 25. Festus in Retiario: de quo vid, Lips, Saturnal. l. 11. c 8.

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being chosen Arbitrator between them, determin'd that each side should keep what they were in present Possession of; by which means Sigeum sell to the Athenians (n). But this seems to be consounded with what Laertius says was done some Years after (o); the War, in all Probability, being afterwards renew'd under the Conduct of Pisstratus, who took Sigeum, and constituted Hegesistratus, his Natural Son by a Woman of Argos, Governour

of it (p).

Pittacus, after he had made an End of the War. by the Death of Phrynon, held the Government ten Years (9), during which time he had made many commendable Laws: one to prevent too much Company at Funerals (r); another, that, who foever. when he was drunk, struck another, should pay double as much, as if he had been fober (s): this he design'd as a Remedy against Drunkenness, the Island Lesbos abounding with Wine (t). When he had settled the Affairs of the Common-wealth, he once more refign'd the Government, notwithstanding his Subjects unanimously entreated him, to hold it longer; for he was unwilling to be Lord over his Fellow-citizens, longer than the Necessities of the City requir'd. He liv'd ten Years after this. as a private Person (u), and at length died in a full Age, being feventy, or as some affirm, eighty Years old (w). The latter of these Accounts comes nearest the Truth; for Pittacus, if we may believe Suidas, was born at the Beginning of the thirty-fecond Olympiad (x), and died, according to Laertius, in the third Year, of the fifty-second, in which Aristomenes was Archon at Athens (y), fo that, ac-

⁽n) Herodot. l. 5. c. 95. (o) Diog. Laert. in Pittaco. (p) Herodot. ibidem, c. 94. (q) Diog. Laert. ibidem. (r) Gicero de Leg. l. 2. (s) Aristot. Pol. l. 2. c. 10. (t) Diog. Laert. ibidem.
(u) Idem ibidem. (w) Thus Meursius corrects the place in Diog. Laertius, and in instead of εβδομήκονθα writes ογδοήκονθα.
(x) Suidas in voce Πιπακός. (y) Diog. Laert. in Pittaco.

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cording to this. Computation, he must have been

eighty two Years old, when he died.

He was a Man of extraordinary Prudence, and is therefore number'd amongst the Seven Wile-men of Greece. He was no less remarkable for his extraordinary Temper, and Moderation, of which there are several very eminent Instances, but the most remarkable is his Behaviour towards his Wife. He married a Woman of a better Family than himself. the Sister of Draco, the Son of Penthilus: and she, presuming upon her Birth, carried her self very Imperiously towards him. An Instance of her strange Frowardness we have in Plutarch: Pittacus having upon some Occasion invited some Friends. his Wife came in, and overturn'd the Table; he. feeing his Guests concern'd, faid, Every one hath some Misfortune, he is happy who has no more than mine (z). Though some think, that his Advice about equal Marriages, proceeded from a Resentment of his own Domestick Misfortune (a). Another Instance of his great Constancy, was upon Occasion of his Son's Death, who was accidentally kill'd at Cume; the In. habitants, apprehending the Author of his Death. fent him to Pittacus, who fet him at Liberty, with this Saying, Pardon is better than Penitence (b). That he was a zealous Afferter, of what the Gracians call'd Liberty, is evident, not only from his Expulfion of the Tyrants, but his voluntary Resignation of the Government, and peremptory Refusal of holding it any longer, when unanimously importun'd by his Subjects. So mild was his Government, that they courted him to accept of that Power, which in other Hands they most abhorr'd. As there was no Spark of Pride, or Ambition, in him, so there was as little of Avarice; and he as much despis'd Riches, as he did Power. So that when Crafus offer'd him a Present of Gold, he refus'd to accept it, faying, He had more

⁽z) Plutarch. de Anim. Tranquil. (a) Diog. Laert. in Pittaco: (b) Pamphila apud Diog. Laert. ibidem.

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by half already, than he defir'd: For his Brother dying without Issue, an Estate devolv'd to him. And when, after he had banish'd the Tyrants, the Citizens, with one Confent, offer'd him great Gifts and defir'd him to accept of the Field, which he had recover'd from the Usurpers, he darting his Spear, took no more than what it had pass'd over, which he dedicated to Apollo, and was from him called nerlaxion, or the Field of Pittacus (c). Even whilft he was King, his usual Exercise was to grind Corn, and he much commended Mills, because in so little room they afforded Work to many, and in Memory of this the Lesbians had a Song call'd 'Emuulator, the fame, in all Probability, that is mention'd by Pollux (d). His Writings were his 'Adouiva; Elegies amounting to 600 Verses; and his Laws in Profe, directed to his Country-men. His Moral Sayings were very numerous; his particular Sentence was Kauedr frag, Know the Opportunity. There was another Pittacus, call'd the Leffer, a Law-giver, mention'd by Phavorinus, and Demetrius Magnesius (e).

About seven Years after these Transactions at Lesbos, Athens was the Scene of fresh Commotions, rais'd by one Cylon, an Athenian, of an ancient Family, and considerable Estate, but a Man of Ambition, and aspiring after the Government. To this end he consulted the Delphian Oracle, and receiv'd an Answer to this estect, that, upon the greatest Festival celebrated in honour of Jupiter, he should possess himself of the Acropolis at Athens. Cylon, therefore having obtain'd Succours from Theagines, at that time Tyrant of Megara, whose Daughter he had married, and having rais'd a strong Party amongst the Citizens of Athens, with these united Powers surpriz'd the Acropolis, whilst the Olympian Games

⁽c) Plutarch. de Herodot. Malign. Diog. Laert. ibid. (d) Jul. Pollux Onomastic. l. 4. c. 7. l. 7. c. 33. (e) Confer Diog. Laert. in Pittaco cum seipso in Thalete, & passim alibi, ubi mentio sit de hoc Demetrio Magnesso, & de ejus libro reci As quarduar.

were celebrated in Peloponnesus: For he thought, that this Solemnity was the most celebrated Festival of Jupiter, and that he had some Relation to him; because he had obtain'd the Victory in the Course call'd sians, at the Celebration of the thirty fifth Olympiad (f): but, he did not consider whether there was not some other Festival, either in Attica, or some other part of Greece, intended by the Oracle, as the Event shew'd there was. For at Athens was a Festival of Jupiter call'd Aidna, the most remarkable of any there celebrated in honour of that God. However, Cylon, being fully fatisfied in his own Interpretation of the Oracle, proceeded in his Enterprise. The Athenians, both in City and Country, were alarm'd at this unexpected Attempt, and immediately laid close Siege to the Acropolis, but, being wearied out with the Length, and Toil of the Siege, many of them retir'd, and left the whole Affair to the Management of the Archontes. Cylon and his Accomplices were forely distress'd for want of Food and Water, but, as Thucydides fays, Cylon himself and his Brother privately made their Escape (g); many of those, who remain'd in the Acropolis, dying for want of Provisions, the rest, who surviv'd, fled for Sanctuary to the Altars, which were in the Acropolis. The Suppliants dying in great Numbers in the Temple; the Magistrates, with the Hopes of Impunity, perswaded them to quit their Refuge, and then most perfidiously murder'd them. Some were kill'd in the High-way, flying to the Altar of the Eumenides (h). Plutarch relates the Story thus; Cylon and his Accomplices, being frustrated in their Defign of possessing themselves of the Acropolis, fled for Sanctuary to Minerva's Temple, and that Megacles, who was of Olymp. the Family of the Alemaonida, and at that time 45. 1. Archon of the City, prevail'd upon them to come out 3404.

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⁽f) Thucyd. l. 1. OAUuw. Avazeagn apud Euseb. in Chronic. (g) Thucyd. ibidem. (h) Idem ibidem.

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of the Temple, and stand a fair Tryal. Before they for sook their Refuge, they tied a Thred to the Image of Minerva in the Temple, and held it by the other End: but, when they approach'd the Temple of the Eumenides, in their way to the Tribunal, the Thred brake of its own accord. Hereupon, as if the Goddess denied the Suppliants her Protection, Megacles and his Collegues immediately seiz'd them. As many as were out of the Temple were ston'd, those who return'd for Sanctuary were butcher'd at the very Altar. A very small Party, who made their Application to the Wives of the Magistrates, escap'd this general

Massacre (i).

These unjust and impious Proceedings were very much refented by most of the Citizens, and the Authors of them were foun'd, and avoided, being esteem'd obnoxious to the Anger of the Goddess, at whose Altar they had been guilty of this horrid Profanation: by these means, the Remainder of the Cylonian Faction gather'd Strength, many coming over to them every day, some out of Compassion to their Sufferings, and others out of Regard to their own private Interest, and in hopes of raising themseves by disturbing the publick Quiet. This Party was at continual Enmity with the Family of Megacles, and Matters were carried to a great height between them, till at length Solon, who was now in Reputation amongst the Athenians, with some others of the Nobility, interpos'd in the Quarrel, and to pacify the opposite Party, perswaded Megacles's Friends to submit to be tried by three hundred Citizens of the best Quality. One Myron being their Accuser, those who were alive of Megacles's Party were banish'd the City, and the Bodies of their Dead were digg'd up, and cast out of the Athenian Territories (k).

and the Island Salamis, lying not far from Athens.

⁽i) Plutarch, in Solone. (k) Confer. Thucyd. l. 1. cum Plutarch. in Solone.

This Island had once before revolted from the Athenians to the Inhabitants of Megara: the Athenians made several Attempts to recover it, but with such bad Success, that it was made Capital for any Man thence-forward to make any Proposal about the Recovery of it: Solon consider'd the great Importance of the Place, and was throughly fensible of the Difgrace, which the Athenians had fustain'd in attempting to recover it. He at the same time perceiv'd that Thousands of the Youth wish'd that some Body would begin, not daring to make the first Motion themfelves, for fear of the Law. Wherefore he counterfeited a Fit of Distraction, and order'd his own Family to spread it about the City, that he was Mad. Having fecretly compos'd an Elegy, and got it by Heart, that it might feem Ex-tempore, he ran out into the Market-place, with a Cap upon his Head, and repeated his Verses. The People immediately flock'd about him, and being mov'd, either by the Charms of his Song, or the Oddness of his Appearance, and frantick Geltures, or the Force of his Reasons, prefently repeal'd the Law, and renew'd the War under the Conduct of Solon.

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The common Report is, that Solon took along with him Pifistratus, who had encourag'd the Citizens to follow Solon's Advice, and fail'd to the Promontory Colias. Here they found a great Number of the Athemian Women, celebrating the Festival of Ceres; hereupon Solon dispatch'd a trusty Friend to Salamis, who, pretending himself a Renegade, should give Notice to the Megarenses, that they might surprize the Principal Women of Athens, if they would immediately fail to Colias. The Megarenses presently mann'd a Ship, and Solon feeing it put off from the Island Salamis, order'd the Women to retire, and, in their stead, some beardless Youths, in Women's Apparel, and privately arm'd with Poiniards under their Cloaths, to dance and wanton near the Shore. till the Enemy landed, and they could take the Ship.

N a

The History of GREECE. Book II. 196 The Megarenses, allur'd by this Stratagem, leap'd on Shore, and flew eagerly on their Prey, but they foon found themselves deceiv'd; for the Young Men in Disguile, made such a vigorous Defence, that not one of the Megarenses escap'd. The Athenians immediately fet fail, and recover'd the Island (1). Some

cause he accompanied Solon in this Expedition (m). Some give a different Account of the Recovery of the Island, and fay that Solon, having first receiv'd

afcribe the Glory of this Action to Pisifratus, but, in all Probability, upon no other Account, than be-

this Answer from the Oracle at Delphi,

Agangus gwege Surlais nowas irolyave That Tou xon xon 'A nombs augunanumis. Oi esqueros Seprorlas eis nixtor Swiverla.

Those Heroes that in fair Asopia rest, All bury'd with their Faces to the West, Appeale, go offer what Shall please them best. Mr. Creech.

fail'd by Night to the Island, accompany'd by five hundred Volunteers, who were encourag'd by a Law, which had pass'd, that those who took the Island should obtain the Government. He was join'd likewife by a great Number of Fisher-boats, and one great Ship which he found anchor'd in a Bay of Salamis, which looks towards Eubaa. Solon upon his Arrival facrific'd to the Heroes Periphemus and Cychreus. The Megarenses, who were then in the Island, being alarm'd by an uncertain Report, in great Disorder took up Arms, and sent out a Ship to dif cover the Enemy. Solon took the Ship, and, fecuring the Megarenses, mann'd it with Athenians, whom he order'd with all possible Privacy to fail to the Island. Whilst he with his other Soldiers attackt

⁽¹⁾ Polyan, Stratagem. l. 1, c. 20. Plutarch, in Solone. (m) Frontin. Stratagem. 1. 4. in fine. Justin. 1. 2. c. 8. Eneas Poliorcetic.

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the Megarenses by Land, those in the Ship, on the other hand, took the City. As many of them as were not kill'd in the Battle, furrender'd upon Articles, and were dismiss'd. This Relation is confirm'd by a Solemnity, many Ages after observ'd, and faid to be instituted in Memory of the Victory. The Solemnity was as follows; an Athenian Ship first sails very filently to the Island, then, with a Noise and great Shout, one leaps out arm'd, and with a loud Cry runs to the Promontory Sciradium, to meet those who come against him by Land. Not far distant from the Shore itands a Temple built by Solon in Honour of Mars, and in Memory of the Victory, which he obtain'd over the Megarenses. There is also a Report, that Solon took two Ships belonging to the Megarenses, which he mann'd with Athenian Officers and Soldiers, who having put on the Enemy's Armour, kill'd many of them without Resistance (n).

However, the Quarrel ended not so, the Megarenses would not relinquish their Right to Salamis, and after both sides had receiv'd considerable Losses, the Matter was referr'd to five Spartans, Critolaidas, Amompharatus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes. Many affirm, that Homer's Authority did the Athenians considerable Service, on this Occasion, and that Solon, when the Cause was heard before the Judges, after this Verse in the List of the

Grecian Navy which fail'd to Troy,

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Alas S'ex Sanapiro don Jonal Sina mas,

Twelve Ships from Salamis stout Ajax brought,
inserted the following Line

And rankt his Men where the Athenians fought.

Mr. Creech.

N3

Against

⁽n) Elian. Var. Hift. 1.7. c. 19. (o) Ingad. B. in my rear Kalan. v. 65.

Against this the Megarenses produc'd several other Verses out of Homer (p). The Athenians, who reject this Account as an idle Story, fay, that Solon made it appear, that Philaus (q), and Eury/aces, the Sons of Ajax, being made free of Athens, gave the Island to the Athenians; that one of them dwelt at Brauron in Attica, the other at Melite; and, that the Burrough of the Philaida, to which Pifistratus belong'd, deriv'd its Name from this Philaus. Another Argument against the Megarenses was taken from the manner of burying at Salamis, which was agreeable to that of the Athenians, who turn the Faces of the dead Bodies to the West, whereas the Megarenses turn'd them to the East. This Solon prov'd to be true by opening several Graves (r). But, in answer to this, Hereas of Megara affirm'd, that the Megarenses also buried their dead with their Faces to the West; only with this Difference, that, whereas the Athenians made a distinct Grave for every Body, the Megarenses put two or three into one (s). The Megarenses also pretended that Salamis was betray'd to the Athenians, by some Deserters, whom they call'd Applianer (t): but several of Apollo's Oracles having included Salamis under the Name of Ionia, which anciently belong'd to Attica, fway'd fo much with the Judges, that they determin'd in Favour of the Athenians.

The Recovery of Salamis set Solon very high in the Esteem of his Fellow-citizens, but that, which gain'd him a more universal Reputation in Greece, was his Conduct in the following Affair. The Inhabitants of Cirrba, a Town not far distant from Delphi, bessides many other Impieties committed against Apollo, had converted part of the Land consecrated to him to their own private Use. Solon, out of a just Indignation at the Sacrilege of the Cirrbeans, prevail'd

⁽p) Strabo l. 9. p. 394. (q) Pausanias in Atticis makes him the Son of Eurysaces. (r) Diog. Laert. in Solone. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 7. c. 19. (s) Plutarch. in Solone. (t) Pausanias in Atticis. with

with the Council of Amphictyones to proclaim War against them, and, as some affirm, was made General in this Enterprise (u). Others mention Alemeon as General (w), but, if we may believe Pausanias, Cliftbenes, Tyrant of Sicyonia, commanded the Forces, and Solon accompany'd him as his chief Counfellor (x). Whilft Clifthenes laid close Siege to Cirrha, an Answer was given by the Oracle, whether to the Amphietyones, or the Cirrheans is not certain, to this Effect, that Cirrba should not be taken till the Sea wash'd the facred Land. Upon this Cirrba being at some Distance from the Sea, the Inhabitants thought themselves very secure. But Clistbenes having, by the Advice of Solon, consecrated to Apollo the whole Field about Cirrha, which reach'd to the Sea, the Oracle was by that means accomplish'd. At the same Person's Suggestion, the Course of the River Plistus, which running through the Town of Cirrha enabled it to hold out the longer, was turn'd another way. But the Besieged still maintaining their ground, and either drinking Ditch-water, or being supplied with Rain, Solon order'd a vast Number of Roots of Hellebore to be thrown into the River, and when the Water was throughly infected with the Poison, turn'd it into its proper Channel. The Cirrheans, drinking greedily of the River, were prefently feiz'd with fuch a continual Flux, that they were forc'd to forfake their Posts; and by this means the Amphictyones became Masters of the City, and fully reveng'd the Impiety of the Cirrheans towards the God. From this time Cirrha became a Port to Delphi (y). Another remarkable Instance of Solon's Wisdom, and Authority was his Advice of invading the Thracian Chersonesus (z), but what was the Success of his Advice is not certain.

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 ⁽u) Aristot. apud Plutarch. in Solone.
 (w) Vide Plutarch. ibidem.
 (x) Pausanias in Phocicis. Suidas in voce Σόλον.
 (y) Pausanias in Phocicis.
 (z) Diog. Laert. in Solone.

At this time Athens was disturb'd with Superstitious Fears, caus'd by strange Appearances; the Priests declar'd that the Sacrifices intimated some Villainies and Pollutions, which were to be expiated, and, as Laertius reports, a Plague rag'd amongst them (a). The Oracle advis'd them to lustrate the City, whereupon they fent Nicias, the Son of Niceratus, to Crete, to bring from thence Epimenides, the famous Cretan Philosopher, who is reckon'd amongst the feven Wife Men, by fome, who will not admit Periander into the Number. He was esteem'd a very pious Man, and skill'd in the Methods of Expiation, and Rites of Religion; whence, the Men of his Age call'd him the Son of the Nymph Balte, and the new Cures, because the ancient Curetes are by fome thought to have first instructed Mankind in the Knowledge of Divine Matters. Upon his Arrival at Athens, he was receiv'd by Solon, who very much improv'd himself by the Conversation of his Cretan Guest, and had several Instructions from him, which were of great use to him in the Reformation, which he afterwards made in the Atbenian State. Epimenides having appeas'd the Gods, by the proper Rites of Expiation, taught the Athenians the Rules of Decency in their Worship, abated their mourning for the Dead, by ordering certain Sacrifices to be offer'd presently after the Funeral, with which all Mourning was to cease, and prohibiting those Barbarous Ceremovies of tearing their Hair, and cutting their Flesh, which the Women commonly us'd upon fuch Occasions; and introduc'd several other Customs, whereby the Citizens were render'd more inclinable to Justice and Union. The Athenians, in Requital for his eminent Services, offer'd him very large Presents and great Honors, but he would accept of nothing but a Branch of Olive, and then return'd to Crete (b).

⁽a) Diog. Laert, in Solone. (b). Plutarch, in Solone.

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Nevertheless after his Departure, the Athenians foon relaps'd into their old Distempers, and divided into almost as many Parties, as Attica contain'd Distinctions of People. The Citizens were very hot for a Democracy, the Country-men for an Oligarchy, those who liv'd upon the Sea-coasts for a mixt Government; the last of these held the Balance between the other two Parties, and kept them from proceeding to an open Rupture. At the same time the City was in a very dangerous State, by reason of a Diffention between the Poor, and the Rich; the Poor in general were oppress'd with Use and Interest of Money, which they had borrowed of the Rich. They had either till'd their Land, out of the Product whereof a Sixth Part was due to their exacting Landlords, whence the Peafants were call'd 'Extipoeoi; or had engag'd their Bodies to their Creditors, some of the latter Sort ferv'd at home, others were fold abroad; many others, fince there was no Law to the contrary, were forc'd to fell their Children, and leave the City, through the Cruelty of these merciless Usurers. These were such Grievances as a free People could no longer fubmit to; therefore the common People were very loud for an equal Division of the publick Lands, which were now wholy engross'd by a few Hands; and, unless their Demands were complied with, were ready to choose them a Head, and divide the Lands by Force. Thus Animolities ran very high on both fides, the Commons hated the Nobility, and the Nobility fear'd the Commons; fo that nothing but Ruine seem'd to threaten the State, and there appear'd no Hopes of putting an End to their Troubles, unless some single Person of experienc'd Virtues and Abilities would take upon him to adjust Matters between the contending Parties.

Amidst these Distractions, the graver and more prudent of the Citizens lookt upon Solon, as the only Person capable of so hazardous an Undertaking. He

was one whom neither Party could take any Exception against, being not engag'd in those Oppressions, which the Rich had been guilty of, nor involv'd in the Necessities of the Poor. Solon was at first unwilling to meddle, being afraid of the Pride, Olymp, and Insolence of one Party, and the Avarice of both,

46. 3. but was however chosen Archon, and impower'd to A. M. be an Arbitrator, and to give them Laws. There was a Saying of his, before his Election, that Equality breeds no Strife; and this happen'd to please both Parties, one expecting this Equality in Dignity and Honour, the other in Riches and Estate. Hence there appear'd great Hopes of a perfect Union, both Sides being fo well fatisfied in their new Lawgiver. The Nobility press'd him plainly to erect a Tyranny, and offer'd him their Affistance to put him in Possession of it, and many of the Commons perceiving it would be difficult to effect so great a Change by Law and Reason, were not unwilling to obey a fingle Person of so much Justice and Prudence. But Solon could by no means be prevail'd upon to accept of that Power fo generally hated by the Athenians, notwithstanding the several Jests cast upon him by the Wits of those Times, and the repeated Importunities of his best Friends, who chid him for disaffecting the Monarchy, only upon the account of its Name, as if the Virtues of the Ruler could not foon reconcile the Subjects to any Form of Government. And to confirm what they said, they urg'd as Instances, Tynondas long fince Tyrant of Eubæa, and Pittacus at present of Mitylene.

Solon still continued obstinate in his Refusal of the Government, but made use of that Power he was already entrusted with, to heal the Divisions, which had fo long torn and weaken'd the Commonwealth, and to frame a Body of good wholesome Laws. first thing that seem'd to him absolutely necessary, was to find out some Expedient, whereby the People might be eas'd of the great Burden of their Debts,

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and redeem their Bodies and Estates. To this end he made an Act, call'd Enoighea, by which some think, only part of the Interest; but, as others affirm, the Principal too was remitted. Another Expedient, which enabled the poor Debtors to fatisfy their griping Creditors, was his raising the Value of their Money; for he made a Pound, which before was not worth above 73, contain the Value of 100 Drachma's. So that although the Number of Pieces in the Payment was equal, yet the Value being greater, prov'd a considerable Advantage to those who are to discharge great Debts, and no Loss to the Creditors. Whilft he was confidering of these things, an unlucky Accident happen'd, which had like to have defeated all his future Projects; for, communicating his Design, of releasing the People from their Debts, and of not concerning himfelf about the publick Lands, to Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, in whom he repos'd too great a Confidence, they immediately borrowed vast Summs of Money, and purchas'd very great Estates. When the Act call'd Enraxene was publish'd, they took the Advantage of the Law, and kept the Lands, and would not fatisfy their Creditors. This brought Solon under great Suspicion and Dislike with both Parties, as if he himself had a hand in the Contrivance: and these Resentments were very much heighten'd, because the Rich were angry for their Money, and the Poor, because the Lands were not divided. However Solon presently clear'd himself of this Suspicion by releasing his Debtors of s, or, according to others, 15 Talents, but his Friends were from that time call'd xpeonorisa, Defrauders of their Creditors.

Both Parties in a little time found the Advantage of this Act, and laying aside all private Quarrels and Animosities, made a publick and common Sacrifice together, and call'd it, from the Name of Solon's Ordinance, Sacrification is Solon being restor'd to their good Opinion, was again Authoriz'd, by a general Voice,

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and with an unlimited Power, to regulate their Decrees, Assessments, Magistracies, Assemblies, and Courts of Justice, to appoint the Number, the times of Meeting, and what Estate should render them capable of Sitting, or giving their Voice in their Assemblies, and Courts of Justice, and to dissolve or con-

tinue any of the former Constitutions.

First then, he repeal'd all Draco's Laws, because they were too fevere, except those concerning Murder. In the next place, being willing that the Magistracy should continue, as he found it, in the hands of the Rich, but that the other Priviledges of the Common-wealth, from which the Commonalty were before excluded, should be enjoy'd promiscuoufly, he took an Account of the Citizen's Estates, according to which he divided them into Four Orders. Those who were worth Five Hundred Measures of dry and liquid Fruits, he plac'd in the first Rank, calling them Herlanogouedinvoi, these paid a Talent to the publick Treasury. Those who were worth Three Hundred Measures, constituted the second Order, and were nam'd 'Intada Trasples, from their being oblig'd to fend an Horse to the War, these paid half a Talent. The Third confisted of those who had Two Hundred Measures of both forts, and were from thence call'd Zevila, these paid Ten Mina. The last, which infinitely exceeded the rest in Number, confifting of ordinary Mechanicks and the inferiour fort of People, went under the Name of offes, and paid nothing to the Publick. These were not perwitted to bear any Office in the State, but had the Liberty of being prefent at, and giving their Voices in, the common Assemblies; which, though at first it seem'd an inconsiderable Priviledge, yet afterwards appear'd to be of very great Consequence. For, most Causes came at last to their Hearing, because in all Matters; that were under the Cognizance of the other Magistrates, there lay an Appeal to the Assembly of the People. Besides this, that he might encrease

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the Honour of his Courts, Solon having purposely express'd his Laws in obscure and ambiguous Terms, when any Difference could not be adjusted in the other Courts, it was brought before the popular Assembly, as it were the Master, which hereby became the supreme Interpreter of the Laws.

Having thus taken an Estimate of the Estates of the Citizens, and distinguish'd them into Four several Classes, he applied himself to their Courts of Iustice. The Senate of Areopagus, whose Power had been very much retrench'd by Draco, and transferr'd to the Council of the Epheta, he restor'd to its ancient Credit and Authority. To this Senate, confifting of most grave, experienc'd, and upright Men, he gave a Power of inspecting into all Concernments of Religion, or the State, of preserving the Laws and Cultoms, and of reforming the Manners of Citizens: in which last Particular, they were so severe, that once they punish'd a Boy, for pulling out the Eyes of Quails, as thereby betraying an unmerciful and cruel Temper (c). They ordinarily met thrice a Month upon Mars's Hill (from whence this Council receiv'd its Name) and oftner, if extraordinary Occafions requir'd, in the Place call'd the King's Gallery. The Court of the Epheta, which had been invested with the highest Authority by Draco, he confin'd within its proper Bounds of Jurisdiction, leaving the Judgment of Man-flaughter, and lying in wait for Life, in some Cases, to this Court. Solon, observing that the People being now freed from their Debts grew proud and imperious, erected another Court confisting of Four Hundred Persons, an Hundred chosen out of each of the Four Tribes. This Court was endued with a Power of inspecting all Matters before they were propos'd to the People, and of taking Care that Nothing but what had been throughly examin'd should be brought before the

another

⁽c) Quintil. Inft. Orat, 1.5. c.9.

general Affembly. It had Power also to determine Matters of great Moment, or, if that appear'd more convenient, to report them to the People? The People, gave their Affent, then its Acts pass'd into Laws, if not, they continued in Force but one Year. This Council likewife made Provision for such as were grown poor, and were to be maintain'd by the Publick: to call those to account who were indebted to the State, to take Care of the Navy, and to see that a sufficient Number of Ships was built. And now Solon thought that the Common-wealth, being held by these Councils, as by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be shaken by Sedition, and the People more easily kept in Subjection. He founded another Court, more large and common, confifting of Five Hundred, a Thousand, and sometimes, if Occasion requir'd, of Fifteen Hundred Persons, chofen by Lot, out of all the Citizens of Thirty Years Old and upwards. They judg'd many, and very often the greatest Causes; and this was call'd the Heliastick Council, because they sate in an open Place, where the Sun (fixes) shone upon them. Another Court was that of the Arbitrators, confisting of Two Hundred and Twenty Men, chosen out of the Tribes, and being equally divided according to the Number of them, heard and determin'd their Causes. Another, the least Considerable of all, was that made up of Thirty Persons at first, afterwards encreas'd to Fourty. which going in Circuit to the feveral forts of People, gather'd by Thefeus into one City, heard and determin'd Matters of less Consequence. These were the most remarkable Courts of Justice erected by Solon. And to multiply Suits, and hereby raise the Credit and Authority of his Courts, he gave Liberty to any Person to enter an Action against another for any Injury. So that if a Man was beaten, or wounded, or had fuffer'd any Damage, either in his Person or Estate, any third Person, that would and was able, might prosecute the Offender. And in this he had another

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another End, Namely, that he might accustom the Citizens, like Members of the same Body, to be sensible of one another's Wrongs. Agreeable to this was his Answer to one, who ask'd him, What City was best model'd? That, says he, wherein those, who are not injur'd, equally prosecute the Unjust, with those that are.

As to the College of the nine Archontes he left it Elective as he found it, and ordain'd that they should take the Oath above-mention'd, before their Entrance upon their Office (*). He assign'd them their several Offices, for the most part as they were before, only more certain; and, if upon due Examination, after the Expiration of their Offices, they were found to have discharg'd their Trust with Faithfulness and Integrity, he order'd them to be elected into the Council of Arcopagus, as a Reward of their good Services, the College of the nine Archontes being hereby constituted the Seminary of that Senate.

The next of his Institutions relate to their Assem-Their great and general Assembly consisted of the whole Body of the People, without Distinction of Rank or Condition, and they had all an equal Right of giving their Voices in it. To this great Body Solon gave Power of revising the old, and, as the Necessities of the State requir'd, making new Laws, and of judging of the Acts of the Senate. They made Peace and War, concluded all Treaties, sent Ambassadors, created Generals, and all the Civil Magistrates of note, gave Strangers the Freedom of the City, appointed Rewards to those who had deserv'd well of the State, and judg'd of all Misdemeanors, against which no Provision was made by the Laws. The Place of their meeting was generally the Forum, or the Pnyx not far distant from it, and sometimes the Theater of Bacchus. Before they met, it was publickly fignified in Writing, what was to be the Subject of

^(*) See Book the II. Page 150. of this History.

Having thus regulated their Courts of Justice, and Assemblies, he, in the next place, applied himself to compile a Body of Laws, several whereof are mention'd by ancient Authors. Plutarch takes notice of one very remarkable Law of Solon's, which branded all those with Insamy, who stood neuter in a Sedition (d). This one would imagine could be given to no other purpose than to keep alive and propagate continual Factions and Animosities: but Solon had a quite contrary End, and thought it an excellent Re-

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⁽d) Plutarch. in Solone.

medy to put a Stop to Faction in its very Beginning. He would have none of his Subjects vinfentible and regardless of the Publick, and expose their Country to Ruin and Destruction, to secure their own private Interest. He would have them immediately join with that Party, which they thought had Right on their fide, affift and venture with them, rather than thift out of harms way, that they might at last join among le their Relations. But Isbil regnorff shi diw

Another Law we find mention'd by the fame Author, which was very fingular. This is that, which permits an Heirefs, if her lawful Husband prove impotent, to lie with his nearest Kinsman, Some commend this Law, as excellently contriv'd against those who, being conscious of their own Inability, yet, for the take of the Portion, match with Heis reffes, and make use of Law, toldo Violence to Nature, and at the same time confining her to her Hul band's nearest Kinsman, that the Children might be of the same Family ... He enjoin'd that the Bride and Bridegroom should be shut into a Chamber, and eat a Quince together; and that he who married an Herrefs should be oblight to go in to her thrice a Month at least In all other Marriages he prohibited Dowries, and the Wife was to have only three Suits of Cloaths, and a little inconsiderable Houshold-Stuff! for be would not have Marriages contracted for Money or an Estate, but for pure Love and Affection, and the Propagation of Children and he boilings

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Another commendable Law was that which for bad Men to speak Evil of the Dead; for to reflect on the Memory of those that are gone, is not only a great piece of Impiety, as well as Injustice, but is a means of keeping up perpetual Feuds and Ania molities. He likewise forbad them to speak evil of the Living, in the Temple, before the Tribinal? in the Court for at the Games; an Offender pay'd three Drachme to the private Person, and two to the Publick. For never to be able to govern Passion shews

shews Weakness, and ill Manners, and always to command it is very hard, and to some impossible.

Another excellent Law, for which he is very much commended, was that concerning Wills, by which the Citizens were empower'd, if they had no Children, to leave their Real and Personal Estate to whom they pleas'd, whereas before they could make no Wills, and their whole Estates went of course amongst their Relations. But he esteem'd Friendship a stronger Tye than Kindred, and Affection than Necessity, and therefore would have every Man's Estate in his own Disposal. He made void all Legacies procur'd by indirect means, fuch as were extorted by Siekness, Charms, Imprisonment, Force, or the Perfwalions of a Wife. For he with good Reafon thought it the same thing, whether a Man was wrought upon by Deceit, or Necessity, Flattery, or Compulsion.

He also limited the Visits, Mournings, and Feasts of Women, by a Law, which very much restrain'd their former Licentiousness. When they went abroad, he did not suffer them to carry with them above three Gowns, a half-penny worth of Meat and Drink, and a Basket about a Cubit high, and to stir abroad at Night, but in a Chariot, with a Torch before them. He forbad the Mourners to tear their Cheeks to raise Pity and Lamentation, at the Funerals of those, to whom they were not related. He prohibited an Ox to be sacrific'd at Funerals, and to bury more than three Garments with the dead Body, or to approach the Monuments of any besides their own Family, unless

at the very Funeral.

Further, observing the City fill'd with Persons that flock'd from all parts of Attica, for Security of Living, and that most of the Country was barren and on fruitful, not rich enough to maintain the Farmers, and altogether unable to feed the lazy Multitude; and that the Traders at Sea imported nothing to those that could give them no Exchange, he encouraged,

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and brought Traffick into Credit amongst his Citizens, order'd the Council of Areopagus to examine how every Man got his Living, and punish the idle; and made a Law whereby the Son was discharg'd from relieving the Father, who had not bred him up to fome Calling. Neither were Bastards oblig'd to relieve their Fathers, upon this Confideration, that he who will not marry, does not take a Woman for Children, but for Pleasure; and therefore has no Pretence to upbraid the Children whose very Birth he has made a Scandal and Reproach. He permitted any one to kill an Adulterer that was found in the Act; if any one forc'd a free Woman, 100 Drachma's was the Fine; if he entic'd her, 20; except those who traded for a Price. He made it unlawful to fell a Daughter or a Sifter, unless being unmarry'd she was found wanton with a Man. The Victor in the Ishmian Games was to have for his Reward 100 Drachma's; in the Olympian 500. He that caught a Dog-Wolf five, he that kill'd a Bitch, one, the former Summ (as Dametrius Phalereus afferts) was the Value of an Ox, and the latter of a Sheep: The Athenian Fields being better for Pasture than Corn, they were from the Beginning great Enemies to Wolves; and some affirm, their Tribes did not take their Names from the Sons of Ion, but from the different forts of Occupation that they follow'd. The Souldiers they call'd 'Onxila, the Crafts-men, 'Egzala, and of the two remaining the Farmers revers, and the Shepherds and Grafiers 'Arymogene. Since the Country had but few Rivers, Lakes, or large Springs, and many us'd Wells which they had dug, he order'd that where there was a publick Well within an Immeor, e.e. four Furlongs, all should draw at that; but when it was farther off they should provide a private Well: and if they had dug ten Fathom deep, and could find no Water, they had Liberty to fetch ten Gallons a Day from their Neighbours: for he thought it prudent to make Provision against Want, but not

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to encourage Laziness. Whoever planted a Tree, was forbidden to fet it within five Feet of his Neighbour's Field; and a Fig or an Olive, within nine; for their Roots spread farther, nor can they be planted near, all forts of Trees, without Damage, because they draw away the Nournhwent, and hurt fome by their venemous Effluviums . He that would dig a Pit or a Ditch, was to dig it at as great a Distance from his Neighbour's ground as it was deepr And he that would raise Stocks of Bees, was to raise them within 300 Feet of those which another had already rais'd: He permitted only Oil to be exported, and those that exported any Fruit, especially Figs, the Archon was oblig'd folemnly to curfe, or elfe pay himself an 100 Drachma's: the Informer against the Delinquents was call'd Euxood line Another Liaw concerning Hurts and Injuries from Beatts, commanded the Master of any Dog that had bitten a Man, to hang him in a Chain of four Cubits, The Law concerning naturalizing Strangers is fevere for he permitted only those to be made free of the City who were in perpetual Banishment from their own Country, or came with their whole Family to exercise some Employment at Athens, and this he did not to discourage Strangers, but rather to invite them to fix at Athens, by making them free and secure of the Priviledges of the Government: For he thought, that, those who had been forc'd from their own Country would prove faithful Citizens out of Necessity, and those who woluntarily for fook it, out of Choice. The Law concerning publick Entertainments in the Prytaneum on Common-Hall was peculiarly Solon's, by this it was order'd, that if any Man came often, or if he that was invited refus'd to come, they should be punish'd; for he thought that one was greedy, and the other a Contemner of the Publick These are the Laws which are mention'd by Plutarch , there are feveral others which are deliver'd by other Authors enolled it prudent to make Provision against Want, but not

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One mentioned by Laertius, by which any one that did not maintain his Parents, or confum'd his Patri-mony was render'd infamous, by being debarr'd from Offices, and the Priviledge of speaking in publick Affemblies. For he conceived, that he who could not govern his own Family well, would be much less able to manage Affairs of State; that, it was impossible the fame Person should be wicked in private, and good in publick; and that it was very unfit fuch an one should speak in publick, who took more care to place his Words, than to govern his Life and Actions (e)! By another Law he forbad fuch as frequented the Company of scandalous Women, or prostituted themselves, to plead or judge in publick (f). He augmented the Rewards of fuch as died in the Wars. whose Sons he order'd to be brought up, and instructed at the publick Charge (g). He forbad a Guardian to marry the Mother of the Infant committed to his Charge, and render'd the immediate Heirs of the Minor's Estate incapable of being in trust. A Graver was not to keep the Impression of any Seal after he had fold it (b). If any Man put out the Eye of another who had but one, he was to lofe both his own. His Law concerning Theft, hinted at by Laertius, is more fully related by Demosthenes, as follows: If any Man steal in the Day time fifty Drachms he shall be carried before the Undecemviri, if he steal any thing by Night, it shall be lawful for any to kill him, or in the Pursuit to wound him, and to carry him before the Undecemviri. Neither of the forementioned Criminals shall be capable of putting in Bail, to make Restitution for their Theft, but shall be punish'd with Death. If any one steal out of the Lyceum, the Academy, or Cynofarges, a Garment or a small Vessel of Wine, or any other thing of little Value, or any Veffel out of the Gymnafia or Havens, he shall be

punish'd

⁽e) Diog. Laert, in Solope. Plato Menoxen. (f) Diog, Laert. in Solone. (g) Æschin. in Timarch. (h) Diog, Laert, in Solone. Æschin. in Timarch. Demosth: in Androt.

punish'd with Death; but if any Man be convict of Thest from private Men, it shall be lawful to make double Restitution, and it shall be also at the Pleafure of the Convictor, besides Payment of Money, to put him in Chains sive Days, and as many Nights, that all Men may see him bound (i). If an Archon was taken drunk he was punish'd with Death (k).

Besides these mentioned by Laertius, many others remain preserv'd to us by other Writers. As that which allow'd Brothers and Sisters by the same Father to marry, and prohibited only those by the same Venter. Another by which a Woman taken in Adultery was sorbidden to wear Ornaments, or come into publick Temples, less her Presence should corrupt modest Women. If she came into a Temple, or adorn'd her self, he commanded every one to tear her Cloaths and Ornaments, and to beat her, but not to

kill or maim her (1).

He ordain'd, that a dead Body should be laid out within the House, according as he gave Instructions, and the Day following, before Sun rifing, carried forth: whill the Body was carrying to the Grave, the Men were order'd to go first in Order, and the Women to follow. He made it unlawful for any Woman to enter upon the Goods of the Dead, and follow the Body to the Grave, under threefcore Years of Age, excepting those within the Degree of Coulins; or for any Woman to enter upon the Goods of the deceas'd, after the Body was carried forth, excepting those within the same Degree (m). Concerning Sepulchres he only order'd, that no Man should demolish them, or bring any thing new into them, and that who foever violated, threw down, or brake any Tomb, Monument, or Column, should be punish'd (n). If any Man accidentally found a Corpse unburied, he was commanded to throw Earth upon

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⁽i) Demofthen in Timograt. (k) Diog. Loers, in Solone. (1) Efchu, in Timarch. (m) Demofth, in Macartat. (n) Cie, de Log. l. 2.

oblig'd first to except against it in the Assembly of the People, then if it was abrogated, to substitute another in its stead (p). He commanded Children to pay all due Offices to their Parents (q), and, as some say, made a Law of Indemnity, whereby he allow'd any Man to kill his undutiful Son; but others affirm, that he only permitted a Father to turn his Children out of Doors, or to dis-inherit them (r).

He made a Law, whereby those, who refus'd to ferve in the Wars, or deferted their Colours, or betray'd any Cowardife in their Behaviour in the Army, were excluded the Forum, and were forbidden to wear a Garland, or to enter into the Temples. If any one was feiz'd, for having abus'd his Parents, or forfaken his Colours, or for entring into Places prohibited by the Laws; the Undecemviri were order'd to bind him, and carry him before the Heliastick Tribunal, where it was lawful for any one to accuse him: if he was cast, the Court impos'd upon him what Fine or other Punishment it thought fit; if a Fine, he was to be kept in Chains, till it was paid(s). He prohibited all Perfumers, thinking it a very mean and effeminate Employment (t). He order'd that no Citizen of Athers should be tried any where, but at Athens, or be deliver'd up unheard to the merciles Humour of Tyrants (#). He commanded that no Man, under thirty Years of Age, should bear the Office of a Magistrate, or be admitted to Council, though he was never to eminent for Wisdom and Prudence (w). He permitted the Punishment of the Common People to be sometime deferr'd, but strictly enjoin'd that the Magistrates should immediately undergo the Sentence of the Law; for he thought

⁽⁰⁾ Ælian. Var. Hift. l. 2. t. 42. & 5. 14. (p) Demosth. in Leptin. (q) Liban. Declam. 18. Cimon. (r) Dionys, Hal. Antiq. Rom. l. 2. (s) Demosth. in Timocrat. (t) Athenzus Deipnosoph. l. 15. (u) Liban. Declam. 13. Demosthenes. (w) Stobeus Sarm. 114, & Archaelog. Gt. l. 1. 5. 15. 17. 20.

that the former might be punished at any time, but that the Correction of the latter would admit no Delay; because when once the People had suffered themselves to be enslaved by the Magistrates, no Man would be lest to take care they should be punished according to Law (x). As to the Gods and their Worship, he decreed nothing concerning them (y); neither did he make any Law against Parricide, for he thought no Man could be capable of committing

fo great a Crime (2).

These were the particular Laws of Solon, which were carv'd in different Tables. Those which related to private Actions, in oblong Quadrangular Tables of Wood, with Cases, which reach'd from the ground, and turn'd about upon a Pin, like a Wheel, whence they were call'd Agence. They were first plac'd in the Cittadel, and afterwards, that all might fee them, remov'd into the Prytaneum, where some Relicks of them remain'd in Plutarch's time. Those which concern'd publick Matters, were engraven in Triangular Tables of Stone, call'd Kueßer, either from Cyrbus, who took the Account of every Man's Estate, or and or maila wew diras mis yedunan, because they were ratified by their being inferib'd in those Tables, or To restoguodiai, from their being lifted up on high, that they might be seen by every one, or from the Coxybantes, sometimes Cyrbantes, to whom the Invention of them is by some ascrib'd (a). These were plac'd in the King's Portico. Solon, having thus finish'd his great Delign, impos'd an Oath upon the Senate, by which they oblig'd themselves to ratify his Laws for an hundred Years. Every one of the Thesmotheta took an Oath at the Crier's Stone, that, if he violated them, he would dedicate a Golden Statue of equal weight with himfelf, at Delphi.

Soldy, having thus reform'd the State, likewife regulated the Atbenian Calendar. For confidering the

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⁽x) Demosth in Aristogit. Orat. 2. (y) Max. Tyr. Dissertat. 39. (z) Cic. Orat. pro Sex. Roscio. (a) Suidas in voce Kugset.

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Irregularity of the Months, and that the Moon did not always rife and fet with the Sun, but did sometimes in the same Day overtake and go beyond it, he nam'd it im i via, the Old and the New Moon, and attributed that part of it, which preceded the Conjunction to the Old, and the rest to the New Moon. Whence he is thought to have been the first who understood that Verse of Homer,

The following Day, which was the First of the enfuing Month, he call'd Neperia, or the New Moon: after the Twentieth he added no Day, but counting backward, according to the decreafing Phases of the Moon, he reckon'd up to Thirty (b). Solon, whilft he was imploy'd in his great Undertaking of reforming the Athenian State, was visited by Anacharsis, the Olymp. famous Scythian Philosopher, in the First Year of 47. i. the Fourty-seventh Olympiad, Eucrates being then A. M. Archon of Athens. Anacharsis was a Man of very 3412. acute Wit, for which Solon was so extreamly pleas'd with him, that he entertain'd him with the utmost Kindness and Civility: understanding that Solon was busy in giving Laws to the Athenians, he, with a Smile told him, That written Laws were like Cobwebs, they beld fast the Poor and Weak, whilst the Rich and Powerful brake through them: to this Solon answer'd, that Men will fland to those Agreements, ablich it is not the Interest of either Party to break. They mutually admir'd one another, and contracted a very intimate Friendship: Solon instructed Anacharfis in whatever he knew, recommended him to the Favour of Persons of the best Quality, and fought all Opportunities of doing him Honour and Respect. Anacharsis on the other Hand continually attended Solon, and was every where kindly receiv'd

⁽b) Plutarch in Solono. Confer. Archaolog. Gr. 1, 2. c. 26.

for Solon's Sake. He was highly esteem'd by the Grecians for his Wisdom and Temperance, wherein he excell'd many of their Philosophers, whereupon they conferr'd upon him the Title of Wife, and some place in the Number of the Seven. That which made his Wisdom the more admir'd, was his Country, which none imagin'd could have produc'd any Person of Learning, or Wisdom, or even Civility.

Solon, having throughly reform'd the State, and publish'd his Laws, was every Day wearied with continual Visits of those, who came either to commend, or find Fault with, his Laws, and to advise him, if possible, to leave out, or put in whatever they thought most proper. Others desir'd him to explain the meaning of fuch and fuch a Passage; he therefore confidering, that not to fatisfy them, would argue Pride, and to explain his Laws would in all Probability render him lyable to Censure, resolv'd to ease himself of these continual Troubles, and take off all Occasion of Suspicion, from those who sought it. He pretended that he was Master of a Ship, and, having obtain'd Leave for ten Years Absence, he set fail, in Hopes that in fo long a time his Laws would by Cultom be firmly rooted in the Minds of his Citizens. His first Voyage was into Egypt, where he spent some time with Psenophis of Hierapolis, and Sonchis of Sais near one of the Mouths of Nile, from thence call'd Saiticum, the most Learned of the Egyptian Priests. From these Plato affirms he acquir'd some Knowledge of the Atlantick Island, which he put into a Poem, and endeavour'd to bring into Credit among the Grecians. From hence he fail'd to Cyprus, where he was kindly receiv'd by Philocyprus, King of a small City, built by Demophoon, the Son of Thefeus, near the River Clarins, in a very strong place, but extreamly barren and difficult of Accels. Solon perswaded him to build a larger City, in a pleasant Valley which lay beneath the Town, and to transfer his Citizens thither. Hereupon Multitudes

of People from all parts of the Country, immediately flockt to *Philosyprus*, infomuch that the neighbouring Kings prefently imitated the Defign: and therefore in Honour of *Solon* he call'd the City *Soli*, which

was before nam'd Apeia.

Solon in his Travels abroad contracted an Acquaintance with Thales of Miletus. Concerning the Original of this Man it is variously reported, and whether he was a Phenician, or Grecian is uncertain. The first and greatest part of his Life was spent in Travel into Crete, Asia, and Agypt, where he collected that vast Stock of Learning, which he brought with him to Miletus. After his Settlement there, the rest of his time was spent in Privacy and Retirement, from whence he was often courted by the greatest Princes of the Age wherein he liv'd, but he preferr'd Solitude before the Pleasures of Courts, though Laertius affirms, he liv'd some time with Thrasybulus of Miletus, which could not be very long, because that Tyrant reign'd only eleven Months. However, the Reputation of his great Learning, and Wildom, procur'd him frequent Visits from the most eminent, and wisest Men of those times. He is number'd amongst the Seven Wife Men, and this Title, which was conferr'd upon the rest, upon the Account of their practical Knowledge, he chiefly acquir'd by Speculation, and his admirable Skill in the Arts and Sciences. He was justly preferr'd before all the reft, for his Learning, being univerfally skill'd in all parts of Philosophy, but particularly in Phylicks, Geometry, and Astronomy, all which (as was pretended) he attain'd purely by his own Parts and Industry, without the Assistance of any Master. Some are of Opinion, that he was the first of the Greeks who made any Enquiries into Natural Philosophy, wherein he held that Water was the first Principle of all Natural Bodies. His Skill in Geometry, which he learnt in Agypt, was fuch, that he made many Improvements, and feveral of the Propositions, reduc'd

due'd by Euclid into his Elements, are thought to have been first invented by him. He was so excellently vers'd in Aftronomy, that some have affirm'd he was the first of the Grecians, who understood that Science: he divided the Celestial Sphere into five Circles, and found out the Accession of the Sun from Tropick to Tropick: he was, as Lacrtius fays, the first who foretold Eclipses, and distinguish'd the Seafons of the Year, and divided it into three hund dred fixty five Days. In all thefe he excell'd the rest of the Wife-men, and besides these, he was Master of that particular Knowledge, wherein they all in common excell'd. For Politicks, according to Lacrius, were his first Study, and his Advice therein was of great Authority, but not withstanding, he was, as Cicero observes, the only one of the feven Sages, who was not Governour of the City wherein he liv'd. He was the Founder of the Tonick Sect of Philofophers, his first Scholars were Anaxander and Anaximenes, both of Miletus. bugger many I said shaded

Here we must not omit a famous Passage, which happen'd between Thales, and his Friend, Solon. Thales having always liv'd a fingle Life, Solon wonder'd how he could pass away his Years without the Comforts of a Wife and Children. Thales at that time made no Answer, but in few Days after privately dealt with a Stranger, that he should pretend he came from Athens ten Days ago; Solon enquiring what News he brought from thence, the Man, according to his Instructions, reply'd, None; but concerning a Young Man's Funeral celebrated by the whole City, for, as the Story went, he was the Son of one of the best Quality, and most Vertue in the City, and his Father was some time since gone to Travel. Solon reply'd, what a miserable Man is he! but what was his Name? I have heard, fays the other, but have now forgotten it, only there was a great talk of his Wildom and Justice. Solon's Fears being encreas'd by every Answer, he at last enquir'd whe-לווכ מ ther

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ther his Name was not Solon, to which the Stranger affenting, he began to beat his Head, and to do and speak all those things which usually proceed from excess of Griefov Then Thales with a Smile faid, these Disasters, Solon, keep me from Marriage, the Cares whereof are too great even sobyour Constancy; however, be not concern'd at the Report, for its nothing but Fictions and and any quality are noticed.

About this time Periander, Tyrant of Corinth, being by reason of his Yearsy morlonger able to fultain the Charge of the Kingdom, fent to Corcyra, whither his Son Lycopbron had fome time fince fled from his Father's Ditpleasured to invite him Home, offering to relign the Government to himself he would return to Corint borfor he thought his eldeft Son Cypselas, by reason of his natural Stupidity uncapable of succeeding him. Lycophron, who full continued as obstinate as ever, would not wouchfafe to give the Meffenger an Answer Periander then fent his own Daughter to him, in hopes that the would bring her Brother to a bedter Tompers After the had us'd her nemolt Persyations & Lucophroni plainly told her, that he would never return .zov Corinth, whilf his Hather liv'd thede. I Perianden then Tent a third time doulet him know, that handelf would come to Greytmaif he would resurn to Corinth, and take upon him the Govern ment Lycophroniagoening . Class to this, prepardAto fett Sallsfor Corinth, and Peris ander for Cordera of but the Inhabitants of the Island, being in the mean time inform'd of statis Agrees ment into prevent the Hyrant's coming ramongst them, kill'd the Son, and by that means defeated his the two, and after these he order'd otherfax ingilad

Perlander, in Revenge of his Son's Death; took three hundred Boys of the principal Mentile Corpyra, and fent them, to Halvattes, King of Lydia, at Sardis, to be gelt ... The Corinthians, who had the charge of

⁽c) Herodot. 1.3, c. 53.

them, were driven upon the Island Samos, where the Inhabitants being inform'd of the Occasion of their being fent to Semos, advis'd the Boys to take Sanctuary at the Temple of Diana, and would not suffer them to be taken away. The Corinthians then would not permit any Food to be given to the Boys: Hereupon the Samians celebrated a Festival, the Obfervation was still kept up in the time of Herodotus. Under this Colour, while the Boys were at their Prayers, a Company of Samian Young Men and Vitgins perform'd a Dance, wherein they threw about Cakes, made of Meal and Honey, which being taken up, the Boys were by this means preferv'd alive, till the Corintbians, who had the Charge of them, were quite wearied out, and left them. Then the Samians convey'd them Home to Corcyra (d). Antenor Cretenfis and Diony fins Calcidenfis affirm (e), that the Gnidians came to Samos with a Fleet, drove away Periander's Guard from the Temple, and carried the Boys to Corcyra: and for this reason the Corcyreans allow'd the Guidians many Honours and Immunities, which they gave not even to the Samians themselves, armer rever bluow od test men bios

Periander, amidst these Crosses and Disappointolymp. ments, funk into Excess of Melancholy, which at A. M. length was the Occasion of his Death, in the last 3419. Year of the fourty-eighth Olympiad, the fourtieth of his Reign, and eightieth of his Age. He was defirous that none should know where he was buried, and therefore he order'd two Men to go to a certain Place, and to kill the first Man they met, and bury him Then he commanded four to kill and bury the two, and after these he order'd others to kill and bury the four. They all faithfully executed his Orders, and he going to the Place where he had appointed the two Men to meet him, was kill'd according to his Defire. He was a powerful and martial

⁽d) Idem ibidem c. 49. (e) Apud Plutarch. in lib. de Herodoti Malign.

Prince. He built Ships with three Banks of Oars (f). with which he commanded both the Ionian and Agean Seas: And Laertius mentions an Attempt. which he made, to dig through the Isbonus, and by that means cut the Pelepomefus off from the Continent. He was naturally of a very severe and cruel Temper; which, though it did not break out into any Excelles, in the Beginning, yet afterwards difcover'd it felf, through the whole Course of his Reign. Tyranny, as Plutares observes (g), was an hereditary Distemper, deriv'd to him from his Father, and feems to have been more violent in the Son; for, what the Necessity of his Affairs extorted from Cypfelus, Periander committed without any Occasion, and cut off the principal Citizens, when he was well fettled in the Government. However he endeavour'd to correct the Sowerness of his Dispofition, by the Conversation of wife and good Men: and to this purpose he invited the Sages of Greece. when they mer at Delphi, to come to Corinth. They accepted the Invitation, and came to Corinth, where not only feven, but twice as many, were entertain'd by Periander at the Port of Lecheon, in a great Hall, joining to the Temple of Penus, to whom he had never faerific'd, fince the unhappy Death of his Mother, till that time. He is himfelf commonly plac'd in the Number of the Wife-men, who, as Plutarch (h) affirms, were originally but five, till afterwards Cledulus Tyrant of Lindus, and Periander of Corinth. who had neither Vertue nor Wildom, by the greatness of their Power, the multitude of their Friends. and the Obligations they conferr'd upon those who adhered to them, forc'd a Reputation, and ufurped the Title of Wise-men. To this end, they spread abroad Sentences, and remarkable Sayings, the very same, which others had faid before. The other Sages, though they very much refented these Pro-

⁽E) Suider in voce Meier Sees. (g) Plutarch, Sept. Sap. Conviv.

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ceedings, yet would not discover or convince their Vanity, nor publickly dispute, about that Title, with Men of so much Wealth and Power, but meeting together at Delphi, after some private Debare, consecrated the Letter E, the fifth in the Alphabet, and in Numeration, to testify to the God of that Temple, that they were no more than five, and that they excluded the fixth and seventh out of their Number.

Some of those, who will not admit Periander into. the Number of the seven substitute in his Room Myfon, concerning whom we have very little Account left beside this, that he was the Son of Stremon, born at Chene, a Village either near Mount Octo, or in Laconia, and that his Father was a Tyrant. Anacharsis, the Scythian Philosopher, enquiring of the Oracle, whether any Man was wifer, than himself, received this Answer, That Myson was wifer than the wifest. His Curiofity being rais'd by this Answer, Anacharsis went to the Village where he liv'd, and finding him fitting a Ploughthare to a Plough, faid, Myson, it is not yet time to plough; but it is to prepare, answer'd Myson. Aristomenes affirms that he was of the same Humour with Timon and Apemantes, both Men-haters, and that he retird from Lacedomon into the Defart, where being furpriz'd fmiling by himself, he was ask'd why he smil'd, no Man being present, he answer'd for that very Reason. Aristoxenus says he was less accounted of, because he liv'd not in any City, but in an obscure. Village. Some ascribe his Sayings to Pisstratus, the most remarkable whereof was, that We must not feel things from words, but words from things Things were not made for words, but words for things. He died being ninety feven Years old. It who shirt and

After the Death of Periander, the Government of Corinth began to shake: and it remained in a very declining Condition, about three Years and six Months, during which time it was in the Possession of Plammeticus, the Son of Gordias, Frother of Periander,

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or as some affirm, his nearest Kinsman. And by this means the Oracle was accomplish'd, which had fo long fince foretold to Cypselus, that the Kingdom should pass from him to his Son, but not to his Grandson. We have nothing more left concerning Plammetichus, than that after his Removal, the Tyranny fell, having stood seventy three Years, and the Olymp. People recover'd their ancient Freedom, which con- 49. 3. tinued as long as the Liberty of Greece it felf. What A. M. was the Form of this Common-wealth, and the Senate 3422. whereby it was chiefly govern'd, or what were the Magistrates, doth not appear from ancient Writers. Only we learn from Plutarch (i), that the Power of the People was more restrain'd, than it was at Syracuse, a Colony belonging to Corinth, and that the Government came the nearest to an Aristocracy. For the chief Administration was lodg'd in the Hands of a few, and not many things, relating to the Commonwealth, were propounded to the People. Notwithstanding, the Government is by learned Men generally thought to have been Popular; it appearing from History, that Matters of greatest Moment could not be determin'd without the Confent of the People: besides this, many famous Colonies, which sprang from this City, the chief whereof were Syracule and Corcyra, were under a Popular Government, so that it is more than probable, that Corinth was fo too, Colonies always taking their Form of Government from the Mother City. From this time the Corinthians were the most zealous Afferters of Liberty, and the greatest Enemies to Tyranny, wherever it was found, of any People in Greece. And they were frequently engag'd in Wars, not out of any ambitious Defign of enlarging their own Dominions, but purely in Defence of the Liberty of the Grecian Cities: for which reason, the other Grecians, upon such Occasions, commonly desir'd a General from Corinth, rather than any other City in Greece.

⁽i) Plutarch, in Dione.

Some Years after Corinth had recover'd its ancient Liberty, Athens loft hers. Whilft Solon was abroad, the Athenians relaps'd into their old Distemper, and were again divided into three Factions; one, confifting of the Countrymen, headed by Lycurgus; another, made up of the Maritimes, by Megacles the Son of Alemaon; and a third of the Citizens, by Pisufratus, the Son of Hippocrates. The last of these was join'd by the poorer fort, who were the most numerous, and most inveterate Enemies to the Rich. Amidst these Distractions, Solon's Laws continued still in force, but all sides, notwithstanding, impatiently desir'd a Change of Government, in Hopes of advancing themselves thereby, and crushing the contrary Party. In this Posture stood Affairs at Athens, when Solon return'd: he was honour'd and rever'd by all Parties, but old Age now growing upon him, he could not be so active, nor speak in publick, as formerly: fo that all he could do towards healing the Divisions of his Country, was by privately difcourfing with the Leaders of the several Factions. In these Conferences Pisistratus always appear'd the most ready to a Compliance: he was very popular in his Discourse, the great Patron of the Poor, an absolute Master of his Passions, very moderate in his Refentments, and what he had not by Nature, he had learnt by long Custom and Practice. All these good Qualities render'd him the Favourite of the Commons, who put a greater Confidence in him, than any Man in the City: they esteem'd him a prudent moderate Man, a great Friend to Equality, and one who defir'd to defend the present Establishment. But, Solon, who had maintain'd a long Course of Friendship with him, faw through all this Disguise, and presently discover'd his Design: however, he would not fuffer this to be the Occasion of any Quarrel between them, but endeavour'd to diffwade him from his vain Projects, and often told him, and others, that if he could but cure him of his Ambition, none would Some

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would make a more vertuous Man, or a more excellent Citizen.

Pisitratus, notwithstanding, still proceeded in his Enterprise, and having wounded himself and his Horses, drove his Chariot into the Market-place, exposing his Wounds to the People, and pretending that he had narrowly escap'd out of great Danger, his Enemies having lain in wait for his Life, purely out of Envy to him for his Love and Affection to the People and the Government; and therefore he defir'd them that a Guard might be allow'd him for the Defence of his Person. The People were immediately in an uproar, when Solon coming close to him, faid, Pisistratus, you do not imitate Ulysses well, for, whereas he cut himself to circumvent his Enemies, you do it to deceive your Fellow-citizens. But the Multitude were refolv'd to defend Pififtratus, and gather'd into an Assembly, wherein one Ariston made a Motion, that they should allow Pisistratus a Guard of fifty Clubmen. Solon oppos'd this with great Vehemence; but, observing the Poor to be tumultuous, and impatient to comply with Pifistratus's Desires, and the Rich on the other hand fearful, and getting out of harm's way, he departed, faying, he was wifer than some, and more valiant than others; wifer than those who did not understand, and more valiant than those, who, though they understood Pisistratus's Design, were afraid to oppose it. Hereupon the Assembly decreed that Pisistratus should have a Guard of fifty Men, and he, under that Pretence, listed as many as he could, no Man observing, so that according to fome he rais'd a Body of three hundred (k), or, as Solon himself affirms, the Assembly granted him a Guard of four hundred Men (1), with which he at length possess'd himself of the Cittadel.

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Whilst the City was in this Confusion, divided between Hopes and Fears, Megacles, with all his

⁽¹⁾ Vide Solonis Epift. ad (k) Polyan. Stratagem. l. 1. c. 21. Epimenia, apud Diog. Laert, in Solone. Fa-

Family, fled: but Solon, notwithstanding he was now very old, and had none left to assist him, came into the Market-place, and made a Speech to the Citizens, wherein he inveigh'd against their Cowardise and Inadvertency, and passionately exhorted them, not thus tamely to refign their Liberty: he likewise then spake that memorable Saying, "That it was an "easy matter to have stopt the Tyranny, at its first "Rife, but it was now the greater and more glorious "Action to destroy it, when it had gather'd Strength. But, all being afraid to fide with him, he return'd home, and laid down his Arms in the Porch before his Door, with these words, "To the utmost of my "Power I have strove for my Country and my Laws," and then defisted from any farther attempts. His Friends after this advis'd him to fly, and several others told him, that the Tyrant would have his Head for what he had faid: being askt to what he trusted, that he durst speak so boldly, he replied, to my old Age. But, Pisitratus, though he had got the Power absolutely in his own Hands, yet paid Solon all imaginable Respect, and entertain'd him with fo much Honour and Kindness, that he frequently gave Pisstratus his Advice, and approv'd of many of his Actions. Pifistratus kept many of Solon's Laws still in Force, observ'd them himself, and compell'd his Friends to do fo too. He added others to them, one of which according to Heraclides Ponticus, was, That the Souldiers, maim'd in the Wars, should be maintain'd at the publick Charge; and herein he follow'd Solon's Example, who had formerly determin'd it in the Case of one Thersippus. Another Law, by some ascrib'd to Solon, Theophrastus affirms to have been made by him against Idleness, by means whereof the Country was better manur'd, and the City not overcharg'd with too great a Number of Inhabitants. By these two he effectually establish'd his own Interest; for, by the One, he oblig'd the Souldiers, and by the Other, under a pretence

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of preventing Idleness, and improving the Art of Husbandry, he dispers'd the People into the Country, and cut off all Opportunity of their plotting against him, and disturbing the Peace of his Government. He wisely consider'd, that as Theseus's gathering them into one Town, tended to the Preservation of that Liberty he design'd to bestow on them, so the contrary method must be the only means of maintaining

that Power which himself had usurp'd.

Notwithstanding Pifistratus govern'd with all possible Mildness, and preserv'd Solon's Laws, and Constitutions still in Force, yet he could not prevail with Solon to continue in the City: who, though he still maintain'd a friendly Correspondence with the Tyrant, yet could not be reconcil'd to the Tyranny, and therefore left the City. After his Departure from Ohmp. thence, he receiv'd Invitations from several of the 34. 4. Wise Men, to come to them. Thales invited him to 3443. Miletus; Bias, to Priene; Epimenides, to Crete; and Cleobulus, to Lindus. Pisistratus pressed him to return Home, but Solon withstood all his Importunity, lest by returning to Athens, he who fettled an Equality in the Common-wealth, and had himself refus'd the Tyranny, should at last incur the Censure of the World, by feeming to comply with, and approve of Pisistratus's Government. Cræfus, at this time King of Lydia, having heard of Solon's Reputation for Wisdom, sent to invite him to Sardis, several of the other Sages being then at his Court. Solon, at Crasus's Request came to Sardis (m), where, being introduc'd into the King's Presence, he neither pay'd him the usual Complements, nor appear'd to be in the least mov'd or affected with the Grandeur and Pomp of the Court. Then Crassus gave Orders, that Solon should see all his Treasures and warlike Preparations: when he return'd from viewing all this, Crasus ask'd him, if ever he had seen an happier

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⁽m) Diog. Laert. in Solone. Herodot. 1. 1. a cap. 28. ad 33.

Man than Crafus? Solon answer'd, that he knew one Tellus a Citizen of Athens, who was an honest Man, had good Children, a competent Estate, and died bravely in the Defence of his Country. Crasus now took him for an unmannerly Fellow and a Fool, because he did not measure Happiness by the Abundance of Gold and Silver, and preferr'd the Life and Death of a mean private Man before the Riches, Splendor, and Power of the Lydian Empire. He ask'd him again, whether besides this Tellus he knew any other Man more happy? Solon reply'd yes, Cleobis and Bito, two Brethren, very loving and dutiful to their Mother; who, when the Oxen went too flow, put themfelves into the Waggon, and drew their Mother to Juno's Temple; the Mother being extremely pleas'd at this Action of her Sons, and call'd Happy by her Neighbours, prayed to the Goddess, that She would grant to her Sons, what was best for them. Whereupon the Young-men, after they had feasted, and facrific'd, never rose more, but died without Pain or Convulsions, having by this Action gain'd great Credit and Reputation. What then, fays Crafus, do'ft thou not reckon us amongst the happy Men? Solon, unwilling either to flatter, or exasperate him more, reply'd, The Gods, O King, as in other things, they have given the Greeks nothing pompous and magnificent, so our Wisdom is bold and plain Dealing, not affecting or fit for the Courts of Princes; and this, observing the numerous Missortunes which attend all Conditions, forbids us to grow infolent upon our present Enjoyments, or to admire any Man's Happiness which is liable to Change. What Cafualties will happen is unknown, but to whom God hath granted a continued feries of Happiness to the End, that Man we call happy. But his happiness, who is yet alive, is like the Glory and Crown of a Wrestler, who is still within the Ring, unsteady and uncertain. After this Solon was difmis'd, having very much griev'd, but not instructed Crasus. And he,

he, though he at present despis'd Solon, as clownish and illbred, yet liv'd to find his words confirm'd by his own dear Experience, and to esteem Solon, a truly Wise-man. Aspp, a Phrygian, the samous Author of the Fables, who was then at Sardis, and in great Reputation in Crassis's Court, being concern'd to see Solon so meanly treated, gave him this Advice, Solon, let your Visits to Kings be as seldom, or as pleasant as you can; No, replied Solon, let them be as seldom, or as

profitable as you can (n).

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Solon, after he left Sardis, went to Cilicia, where he built a City call'd from his own Name Soleis, wherein he planted a small Colony of the Athenians, whose Language by degrees being corrupted by that of the Country, they were faid to Solacife. This is by some confounded with his building a City in Cyprus, but that they are distinct is attested by Laertius, and Suidas (o), who fay, that those of Cilicia were call'd Solenses, and the others of Cyprus, Solii. Solon not long after this died, as is generally agreed, in the Island Cyprus, being, according to Laertius, fourscore Years old, in the second Year of Pisistratus's Government, Hegisistratus being Archon at Athens (p). He order'd his Bones to be carried to Salamis, and, when they were burnt, to be fcatter'd about the Island; which Story Plutarch, though he thinks it too abfurd to be believ'd, confesses to be attested by several Authors of credit, and particularly by Aristotle (q). The Athenians, after his Death, erected his Statue in Brass before the Portico, call'd Hoizian (1); another was fet up at Salamis, hiding, as some describe it, the Hand within the Garment, in the same Posture wherein he us'd to make Speeches to the Athenians.

Thus died this great and excellent Man. The Place of his Birth, according to Laertius, was the Island

⁽n) Plutarch. in Solone. (o) Diog. Laert. in Solone, Suidas in voce Zonos. (p) Phanias Ephes. apud Plutarch. in Solone. (q) Plutarch. in Solone. (r) Pausanias in Atticis.

Salamis, and for this reason he desir'd that his Body might be bury'd there; but from his Parents, and Place of Residence, he was call'd Athenian. He was descended from one of the most noble Families in Athens, for he deriv'd his Pedigree from Neleus, Son to Codrus, the last King of Athens, and from Neptune. His Father, by the unanimous confent of most Writers, was Execestides, a Man of no great Fortune or Account amongst the Citizens, having by his Munificence and Liberality reduc'd his Estate so low, as to want even Necessaries; Solon, who was born of a Family which us'd to maintain Others, was asham'd to receive relief from any, with what small Fortune he had, made a Voyage, and applied himself to Merchandife (s): though others affirm, that he travel'd to get Learning, and Experience, rather than an Estate. His knowledge lay chiefly in the moral part of Philosophy, and in this Politicks was his particular study; as for Physicks, and the curious Researches into Nature, he was utterly ignorant of them. For Thales, at that time was the only Man, who had rais'd Wisdom above Practise into speculation. He was excellently skill'd both in Rhetorick and Poetry. Cicero, placeth Lycurgus and Solon in the number of the Eloquent (t), and faith, that before Solon's time no Man is recorded for Eloquence at Athens (u). He was addicted to Poetry, faith Plutarch, from his Youth: at first he exercis'd it only in matters of little moment, to pals away his vacant hours: but afterwards his Numbers contain'd moral Sentences, and many Tranfactions of the Common-wealth; which he did not write, purely for the fake of the Hiltory, but to vindicate his own Actions; and sometimes to correct, and stir up the Athenians to noble Performances. Some affirm, that he had a design of putting his Laws into a Poem, and Plutarch recites the beginning of it. He began a great Work in Verse, viz. The Relation

⁽s) Hermippus apad Plutarch, in Solone. (t) Cicero de Oratore l. I.

or Fable of the Atlantick Islands, which he learnt from the Egyptian Priests at Sais, and thought fit to be communicated to the Athenians; but he laid it afide, as Plato fays, by the reason of the multitude of his business, and Old-age; but, as others think, because he was weary of it, his Verses, cited by Plutarch, shewing that he had leifure enough. Plato fays, that the Athenian Boys us'd to repeat his Verses at the Feast of 'Amalieua, and that he had such an excellent Genius for Poetry, that if he had applied himself to nothing elfe, as others did, and had finisht the History of the Atlantick Islands, and had not been forc'd, by Seditions and other Distractions, to lay aside that study, none of the Poets, not even Hesiod, or Homer, would have been more famous. There is no entire Piece of his Poetry preserv'd, but several Fragments occasionally mention'd by Plutarch, and other Authors. Let us now consider him as a Statesman; and herein, his Master-piece is, beyond dispute, his Remission of the Publick Debts, which was the only bulwark and fecurity of the People's Liberty. For Laws that establish Equality are of no use, if their Debts still rob the Poor of that Equality: for, wherein their Liberty feems chiefly to confift, therein they are most enflav'd to the Rich, being over-rul'd by, and obnoxious to them, in giving Judgment, bearing Offices, and the like. And it is very extraordinary, that, whereas Sedition constantly attends all Remission of Debts, he should make use of it, as the most effectual means to allay the present Heats of the City; his own inherent Vertue and Esteem drowning the Calumny that goes along with fuch Attempts. Thus the Beginning of Solon's Government was very glorious, for he led the way, and follow'd no Pattern, but by himfelf, without any other Assistance, manag'd almost all publick Affairs of greatest moment; but he liv'd to fee his own Establishment shaken and usurp'd by his Friend, and near Relation, Pisistratus, their Mothers, as Heraclides Ponticus affirms, being Colin-

Colin-germans. The first occasion of their intimate Friendship was, partly because they were related, and partly because Pisitratus was a handsome graceful Man; and for this Reason Solon lov'd him; for, that he was of an amorous Constitution, and unable to relift the Charms of Beauty, we may conjecture by his Poems, wherein he was too foft and profuse, and discours'd of Pleasures too loosely for a Philosopher. Another Instance of this, is the Law, which he made, forbidding Slaves to perfume themfelves, or love Boys, hereby declaring, that he esteem'd it an honourable Action, and only fit for Gentlemen; and that he encourag'd them to the Practife of it, whilft he commanded the meaner fort to forbear it. Plutarch endeavours to extenuate this, and make an Apology for him, attributing it to his Trading Life, and thinking it but reasonable, that, after he had suffer'd a Thousand Dangers, he should be recompene'd, with Pleasure, and Enjoyment. If we consider him under the character of a Lawgiver, he is generally rankt with Minos of Crete, and Lycurgus of Sparta: and he is by some preferr'd before them, his Laws excelling theirs, both in their Exquisiteness and Number (w). They were the best, as he himself said of them, the Athenians were capable of receiving, and were in great esteem among foreign Nations, especially the Romans, who sent Ambassadours to Athens, to transcribe them (x). He is, upon the Account of his great Wisdom, admitted into the Number of the Seven; and this, together with his Justice, and his unshaken Constancy and Fidelity to his Country, makes up the molt

Olymp, thining part of his Character.

Pisistratus had now held the Government between 55. 4. A. M. three and four Years, during all which time, he 3447 rul'd with all possible Mildness, was very obliging, both to the People and Magistrates; preserv'd their Laws in Force, and very much beautified and

⁽ w) Tacit. Annal. l. 3. (x) Tit, Liv. l. 3.

adorned the City, when Megacles and Lycurgus, joining their Forces, pull'd down the Tyranny, banish'd the Tyrant (y), and expos'd his Goods to Sale, whereof no Man would venture to buy any, except Callias, the Son of Phenippus (2). But as the first Steps of his Usurpation were founded upon the Quarrels and Diffentions of the Citizens, and ruin'd by their good Agreement, fo was the Tyranny, some time after, rebuilt and establish'd by the fresh breaking out of the old Factions. For when Megacles found the Power of Lycurgus growing too Itrong for him, he, according to the general Custom of the weaker side, call'd in the common Enemy, and, upon Condition, that Pisitratus would marry his Daughter, promis'd to restore him. Pisistratus, accepting the Condition, was restor'd by means of a very odd Contrivance. There was a Woman in the City, nam'd Phya, almost four Cubits high, but otherwise of great Beauty; this Woman finely dress'd, and compleatly arm'd, and seated in the Chariot with Pisistratus, was drove into the City, Pifistratus having by Heralds before proclaim'd, that the Athenians were to receive Pisistratus, whom their Goddess Minerva esteeming above all Men, now in Person brought back into her own City. This being acted with wonderful Confidence, the Citizens were so deluded, as to adore the Woman for the Goddess, and receive Pisstratus, as really brought by Minerva. By this means he recover'd the Tyranny about five Years after his Expulsion, and married Megacles's Daughter Olymp. according to Agreement (a). And here we shall 57. 1.

time, whilst we take a View of Affairs on the Continent of Asia.

Here Cyrus, the Son of Cambyses, a Persian, by
Mandane the only Daughter of Astyages, King of
Media, was now grown to Man's Estate, and in

leave him now posses'd of the Government a second A. M.

⁽y) Herodot. l. 1. c. 59. (z) Idem l. 6. c. 121. (a) Herodot l. 1. c. 60, 61.

Possession of the Persian Empire. He was a Prince preserv'd by Heaven for those great Designs which he accomplish'd. His Grandfather Astrages being forewarn'd in a Dream, that a Grandson by his Daughter Mandane should be Master of the Empire of the East, out of Fear for his own Kingdom, gave the Infant, as foon as it was born, to Harpagus, one of his Nobles, whom he had always found faithful to him, and order'd him to murder it. Harpagus, out of a just Abhorrence at so barbarous a Fact, gave it to one of the King's Herdsmen, to be expos'd in the Woods. It so happen'd, that, at the same time, the Hersdman's Wife was deliver'd of a dead Child, and with great Difficulty she prevailed with her Husband to expose that, and to breed up Cyrus, as their own Son, and to pretend to Harpagus that the Child was devour'd, who accordingly told the King, that his Orders were executed. Cyrus, when he was about ten Years old, discover'd a manly and generous Spirit, above that of common and ordinary Birth, and, was chosen King among the Boys of his own Age, to manage and govern them at their Exercises. It happen'd, that, one Day in the Execution of his Office. he commanded one of his Play-fellows to be beaten for some Breach of Duty; the Lad, being of a Noble Family, very much refented, that he should be punish'd by a Herdsman's Son, and complain'd to his Father, by which means the Matter was carried to the King. Cyrus, being likewise brought before him, by his great Presence of Mind, and Desence which he made for himself, and by all his Behaviour, so much beyond one of his Years, furpriz'd all that faw and heard him. Aftyages, discovering his own Likeness in the Boy, computed the time of his being expos'd, which he found to agree exactly with Cyrus's Years, and therefore privately discours'd the Herdsman, and by Threats extorted from him the Truth of the whole Matter. So Cyrus was acknowledg'd for the King's Grandson, and after that detain'd at Court, ARYO

Astyages, in Revenge of Harpagus's not having executed his Orders, invited him to a Supper, wherein he dress'd up Harpagus's own Son, and when he had eaten his fill, shew'd him his Head and his Hands.

Astyages then consulted the Magi, what Measures he should take, who told him that his Dream was accomplish'd, and that, fince Cyrus had already exercis'd a Regal Authority, though but in Shew and Mockery, amongst the Boys of his own Years, he needed not fear any farther Danger from him. therefore after he had been permitted to continue some time at his Grandfather's Court, was sent home to his Parents in Persia, where growing in great Esteem and Authority, he began to be weary of a private Fortune, and at the secret Suggestion of Harpagus, endeavour'd to draw off the Persians, who had for some time been uneasy under his Grandsather's Government, and to erect a separate Kingdom. Astyages very much refented his Grandson's Proceedings, and fent Ambassadours into Persia, to disswade him from his ambitious Designs: But these not prevailing, he was forc'd to take up Arms in his own Defence, and forgetting the late Injury which he had done to Harpagus, by a strange kind of Weakness, created him General. Harpagus, though he had bore the inhuman Murder of his Son with all the feeming Easiness, which was possible in so barbarous a Fact, yet retain'd a long diffembled Hate, and Defign of Revenge; and therefore, when both Armies came to engage, himself with great part of his Forces went over to Cyrus, and the rest of the Army was soon dispers'd. The Medes were the more dispos'd to this Revolt, because Astrages had exercis'd a severe Hand over them, as well as the Persians, and the other Subjects of the Medick Empire. Astyages, however, was refolv'd to make another Tryal of his Fortune, and out of the last Remains of his Kingdom, rais'd another Army, confisting of young and old, and headed it himself in Person. Cyrus gave him

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him a second Deseat, and took him Prisoner alive, after he had reign'd in Media 35 Years; and although Astyages had endeavour'd to take away his Life, yet Cyrus, forgetting former Injuries, suffer'd him to

live quietly in Persia.

About the same time that Cyrus erected his new Empire in Persia, Crasus King of Lydia, who had hitherto been a very fortunate and victorious Prince, fubdued the Cities of Aolis and Ionia in Minor Asia. Being Husht with his many great Successes, he refolv'd to undertake an Expedition against Cyrus, whilst he was yet unsettled in his new-gotten Dominions, and to revenge the Fall of Astyages, his Grandfather by the Mother's fide. Before he made any open Attempts he consulted the Oracle at Delphi, whose Shrine he had loaded with the most, and richest Presents of any Prince in that Age, in Hopes of a favourable Answer, concerning the Event of his Undertaking. The Oracle return'd him an ambiguous Answer, to this Effect, that Crassus passing the River Halys, which was the Bound of his own Dominions, should ruin a great Empire. He interpreting this as a manifest Assurance of Success, made the necessary Preparations for the War, with all possible Expedition, and, by the Affiltance of Thales of Miletus, who was then in his Camp, and turn'd the Course of the River Halys, pass'd over his Army into Cappadocia, took the City Pteria, near Sinope, fituated upon the Euxine Sea, with the rest of the Cities adjacent, and drove out the Syrians, although they had no way deferv'd fuch hard Usage from him (b). Cyrus with his Forces went out to meet Crafus, having first, by his Heralds, endeavour'd to perswade the Ionians, to revolt from Crasus; this Design not taking Effect, both Armies came to an Engagement, and were parted with uncertain Victory. The Day following Crasus, perceiving that Cyrus intended to give him Battle a

⁽b) Herodot, 1. 1. c. 76.

fecond time, order'd his Army to march back to Sardis, with a Design to Winter there, and renew the War against the Persians, the following Spring. Therefore he dismiss'd all his Confederates then prefent. and by his Heralds order'd those who were absent, amongst whom were the Lacedamonians, to affemble at Sardis, within five Months. Crasus's Army being thus dispers'd, Cyrus immediately follow'd him, and forc'd him, with what Forces he had left, which confifted only of his own Subjects, the Lydians, to give him Battle. The chief Strength of Crafus's Army lay in his Cavalry; against these therefore Cyrus, by the Advice of Harpagus, planted his Camels, whose noisome Smell the Lydian Horses not being able to bear, they were forc'd to difmount, and engage the Enemy on Foot. The Lydians, after some Resistance, wherein many were kill'd on both sides, were at length put to flight; and the Persians purfuing them to Sardis, in fourteen Days became Masters of the City. Cræsus himself being taken alive, was order'd to be burnt; when he was tied upon the Funeral Pile, this strange and suddain Reverse of his former Greatness, put him in Mind of the Discourse he had formerly held with Solon, and with great Vehemence he thrice call'd upon Solon, whereupon Cyrus being inform'd who Solon was, and the Occasion of Crasus's calling upon him, gave Orders that Crasus should be unbound, and detain'd him at his Court, where he spent the Remainder of his Life, in good Credit and Effeem, Cyrus frequently making use of his Advice, in the most important Olym-Affairs of State. This remarkable Transaction hap- 58. 1. pen'd in the first Year of the Fifty-eighth Olympiad (c). A. M.

Upon this unexpected Success of Cyrus, whereby 3457the great and ancient Kingdom of Lydia was join'd to the Persian Empire, the whole Body of the Asiatick Greeks were under terrible Apprehensions from the

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⁽c) Confer. Jul. Solin. Polyhistor. c. 1. cum Euseb. in Chronico.

New Conquerour, expecting that they must fall next. The Ionians and Aolians therefore, by joint Confent, fent Ambassadours to him at Sardis, offering their voluntary Submission, upon the same Terms with the Lydians, as they had been before subject to Cræsus. Cyrus, because they had refus'd to come in to him, before he engag'd with Crasus, lookt upon this as a forc'd and constrain'd Submission, and to proceed rather from their own Fears, than real Friendship to him, and therefore rejected their Proposals. All the Ionians, except the Milesians, who had already obtain'd better Terms with Cyrus, being affembled in their great Council of Panionium, it was resolv'd, that those who were upon the Continent, and therefore more expos'd to Danger, should fortifie. their Cities, and fend Ambassadors to Sparta, to beg their The Islanders, esteeming themselves not in fo much Danger, as those upon the Continent, did not think fit to comply with these Measures. As for the Lolians, they all of them, except the Islanders, being in the same common Danger with the Ionians, resolv'd, in all things, to concur with them. Both of them therefore sent their Ambassadours to Sparta, where one Pythermus of Phocaea, having, in a general Affembly, laid before them the present State of the Greeks in Asia, they could obtain no Succours. However, the Spartans sent some of their own City with them, to be more fully instructed concerning the Posture of Affairs in Asia, and what farther Defigns Cyrus had against the Greeks. Upon their Arrival at Phocaea, one Lacrines, a Spartan, was fent Ambassadour to Sardis, to admonish Cyrus, in the Name of the Spartans, that he should not make any unjust Attempts upon the Grecian Cities; for, if he did, they could not fit down as idle Spectators, and fee their Country-men enflav'd. Cyrus, being inform'd by some other Greeks, who stood about him, who, and how many in Number the Spartans were, return'd him this Answer, That he never fear'd those Men,

Men, who, in the midst of their Cities, had an open Place, wherein they met, and mutually impos'd upon each other with their Oaths; and, that if the Gods granted him Success, they should have Cause to lament, not the Missortunes of the *lonians*, but their own. In these Words he is said to have reflected upon the whole Nation of the Grecians, who, in the midst of their Cities, had Market-places, wherein they bought and sold, whereas no such Places were in use

amongst the Persians (d).

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Cyrus after this left one Tabalus, a Persian, Viceroy of Sardis, and entrusted one Pactyas, a Lydian, with Crafus's Treasure, to be brought after him, himself going forward, and carrying Crafus along with him towards Echatana. For he intended to make an Expedition against the Babylonians, the Bactrians, the Sacæ and Agyptians, and to leave the Enterprise against the Ionians to some of his Generals. But he had no sooner left Sardis, than Pactyas presuming upon that vast Mass of Wealth, which he had got in his Possession, going on board, levied some hired Troops, and prevailing with all upon the maritime Coasts to revolt, march'd directly to Sardis, and befieged Tabalus in the Citadel. The News of this unexpected Insurrection so incens'd Cyrus, not only against Pactyas, but the whole Nation of the Lydians, that he would have utterly cut them off, had not Crafus, out of Compassion to the Lydians, lately his own Subjects, perswaded him to soften them with Ease and Luxury, rather than cut them off with the Sword. Cyrus, approving of Crafus's Advice, fent one Mazares, a Mede, to put it in Practise, and moreover commanded him to enflave all those, who were engag'd in the Infurrection, and to bring Pactyas, their Leader, alive to him. Pactyas, hearing that Mazares was coming against him, made his Escape to Cuma. Mazares with part of Cyrus's Army reacht

⁽d) Herodot, l. 1. 6. 153.

Sardis, where finding, that Pactyas, with his Faction. had made his Escape, he constrain'd the Lydians to obey his Master's Orders, and then fent to Cuma, demanding Pactyas to be deliver'd up to him; but the Inhabitants refusing to deliver him, fent him to Mitylene. Mazares fent to demand him thence, and the Inhabitants, as Herodotus is inclin'd to believe, upon some Consideration, were ready to deliver him; when the Inhabitants of Cuma, being inform'd of their Intentions, immediately fent to Lesbos. and transported him from thence to the Island Chios. Mazares still pursued him, and fent to Chios to demand him; the Inhabitants took him by Force, from the Temple of Minerva, whither he had fled for Sanduary, and deliver'd him to the Persians, in Exchange for Atarneus, a Place in Mysia, lying over against the Island Lesbos. Having at length taken Pactyas, he advanc'd against the Rebels; who, under the Command of Pactyas, had befieg'd Tabalus in the Citadel at Sardis. He continued ravaging about Priene, and the Plains of Meander, and Magnesia; after which he was seiz'd with a violent Distemper, which put an End to his farther Designs, together with his Life (e).

Olymp. A. M.

After the Death of Mazares, Harpagus, of whose 59. 2. Fidelity to him, Cyrus had now had long Experience. was substituted in his Command. He carried on the 3461. War, begun by Mazares, against the Ionians, with the utmost Vigour. His first Attempt was made upon Phocaea, the Inhabitants of which City are faid to be the first of the Grecians, who made long Voyages; for they discover'd to their Country-men the Passage into the Adriatick, and Tyrrhenian Sea, to Iberia and Tarteffus; by which some understand Gades, others Carteia, or Carpeia. The Ships which they us'd were not round like Ships of Burden, but long, with fifty Banks of Oars. When they first landed in Tartellus, they were so kindly receiv'd by Arganthonius,

⁽e) Herodot, 1. 1. c. 162.

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King of the Place, that he offer'd them whatever part of his Country, they would choose to inhabit. This former Friendship, which they had contracted with Arganthonius, now prov'd very serviceable to them; for when he heard that the Persians were coming with an Army against them, he sent them a considerable Sum of Money, whereby they were enabled to fortify their City. Harpagus, being now advanc'd before their Walls, began a formal Siege, and commanded them to demolish part of their Fortifications; whereupon, the besieg'd requir'd a Day to consider of his Proposals, and that he, in the mean time, should draw off his Army. The Phocwenfes, finding themselves unable to hold out against the numerous Forces of the Persians, and disdaining the Thoughts of Slavery, whilft Harpagus made a Retreat, went on board their long Ships, with their Wives and Children, and all their most valuable Effects, part of which were the Images belonging to their Temples, and other rich Presents, dedicated to Religious Uses, and fail'd to Chies, leaving their own City an empty Prey to the Enemy. Upon their Arrival there, they would have bought the Islands call'd Oenusse, belonging to the Island Chios, but their Proposals were rejected, lest the Trade should be transferr'd from Chios to them, and Chios it felf thereby impoverish'd. The Phocaenfes, therefore, fail'd from hence to the Island Cyrnus, otherwise nam'd Corfica, wherein, about twenty Years before, they had built a City, call'd Alalia. In the mean time, their Friend Arganthonius died at Tartesfus, being 120 Years old (f). The Phoceenfes, before they fail'd to Cyrnus, diverted their Course to their own City, and kill'd the Persian Garison, which Harpagus had left there; after which, they made a folemn Imprecation upon as many of their own Companions, as should continue at Phocaa, and moreover threw a hot Mass of Iron into the Sea,

⁽f) Confer Herodot, 1, 1, c. 163. 165.

with an Oath never to think of returning into their own Country, till that Iron should rife from the Bottom of the Sea (g). However upon their fetting Sail for Cyrnus, the greatest Part of them retaining a natural Affection to their native Country, were unwilling to leave it; and many of them notwithstanding their Oath, return'd to Phocaa; the rest hoisted Sail from the Islands Oenusa, and went directly to Cyrnus. Upon their Arrival there, they liv'd five Years with the former Inhabitants; after which, beginning to invade all the Neighbouring Nations, the Hetrurians and Carthaginians, with a Fleet confisting of fixty Sail of Ships, prepar'd to make Head against them. The Phoceenses mann'd a Fleet confilting of the same Number with that of the Enemy, and in the Sardinian Sea they came to an Engagement, wherein the Phocaenfes are faid to have had the Advantage, though they themselves sustain'd a considerable Loss. For of their fixty Ships only twenty remain'd after the Battle, and those so much shatter'd, that they were render'd unfit for Use. Befides this, they loft a great Number of Men; as many as fell into the Enemy's Hand were ston'd to Death. What Lofs the Enemy sultain'd in this Engagement is uncertain (b). The Phocaenfes after this, left the Island Cyrnus, and making their Escape to Rhegium, built a City, which, as Herodotus affirms, was, in his time, call'd Hyela (i). Some think that this is confounded with a former Battle, which was fought between the Carthaginians and Phoceenses five Years before; after which the Phocaenfes, went to Massilia, a City of Gallia Narbonensis, situated upon the Ligurian Sea, where they had many Years before planted a Colony. The Leader of this fecond Colony was one Creontiades (k). This was the Fortune of the Phoceenfes, after they left their own City and have

⁽g) Herodot, ibidem. (h) Confer cum Herodot, I. I. c. 167. Thucyd. 1.1. & Paufan, in Phocicis. (i) Herodot, ibidem. (k) Strabo 1. 6. Confer etiam Pausan. in Phocicis, Jul. Solin. Polyhistor. A. Gel. l. 10. c. 16. Ammian. Marcellin. Har.

Harpagus, after he had taken Phocae, march'd to Teos, and made his Works about it. The Inhabitants were foon forc'd to follow the Example of the Phocæenses, and abandoning their City, with their Wives and Children, fail'd to Thrace, and feated themselves at Abdera, formerly built by Timefius, of Clazomena, who planted a Colony in it (1). These Inhabitants of Phocea and Teos were the only People of the Ionians, who, out of an Aversion to slavery, abandon'd their Cities. All the rest, except the Inhabitants of Miletus, who, being in league with Cyrus, fuffer'd no Disturbance from the Persian Arms, made an obstinate Defence of their Liberty, and being at length forc'd to submit, remained in their own Country. All the Greeks upon the Continent being subdued, the Islanders then voluntarily submitted (m). Ionia being thus entirely conquer'd, Harpagus, with his own Forces, join'd with the Ionians and Aolians, march'd into Doris against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians submitted without much refistance: but, at Cnidus he had like to have met with a more vigorous Opposition. This City, fituated in the Isthmus, upon the Triopian Sea, was then inhabited by a Colony of the Lacedamonians. Whilst Harpagus was engag'd in the War against the Ionian Cities, they endeavour'd to dig through the Isthmus, and cut the City off from the Continent, by that means thinking to fecute themselves from the Attempts of the Persian Army: but being first deterr'd from finishing this Design by a Prodigy, and afterwards admonish'd by the Delphian Oracle to desist, they immediately surrender'd to the Persians, without any opposition. The Inhabitants of Pedasus, a City in the inland Parts of Asia, near Halicarnassus, fortifying the Mountain Lida, surrender'd after a long and brave Relistance: but the most remarkable Defence, was that of the Xanthii, who after they had given the Persians Battle, and

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⁽¹⁾ See above Book II. page. 175. Confer Salmaf. Plin. Exercitat. in Jul. Solin. Polyhistor. c. 10. (m) Herodot. l. 1. c. 169.

3463. Ionians, who had enjoy'd their Liberty about 500 Years, from their first Plantation, till Crasus made part of them Tributary, being now all reduc'd by Harpagus, were taken in by Cyrus, and left Hereditary Vaffals to the Crown of Persia. Whilst Harpagus was carrying on the War in lower Afia, Cyrus, with his victorious Troops, in the Higher Country conquer'd all before him, and was now engag'd in a War with the Affyrians (n), where we shall leave

him, and return to Athens.

Here we left Piffratus in possession of the Government, which he obtain'd a fecond time by marrying Megacles's Daughter. Piliftratus, by a former Wife had feveral Sons now in the flower of their Age, and Megacles being suppos'd to be guilty of the murder of Cylon (o); left he should put his Sons by his former Wifes beside their just Expectations, and his Family also should be attainted, he would not use Megacles's Daughter as his Wife. She conceal'd this for a long time, but at length discover'd it to her Mother, who told it to her Husband. Megacles was fo incens'd at this, that he again reconcil'd himself to Lycurgus and his Party, and both of them practifing with the Souldiers which were in the City, proceeded in their Deligns against Pisifratus with fo much fecrecy, that, upon the first Discovery of them, he perceiv'd he had no other remedy left, but, with his Sons, to leave the City, and retire out of Attica, having now held the Government about ten Years, from the time of his Restoration. From Athens he fled to Eretria, a City of Eubaa, where he

⁽n) Herodot, l. 1. c. 177. (o) See above Book II. p. 192, 193, 194.

and his Sons continued, during the Time of their Banishment, using all possible means to recover the Tyranny. Pisifratus during his Government had contracted Friendship with several of the Grecian Cities, who now in his Banishment contributed very freely to him. Amongst the rest the Thebans sent him a large Sum of Money, and, by these means, he made all the necessary preparations for his return to Atbens. He was now join'd by some hir'd Troops from Argos, and by one Lygdamis, from the Island Naxos, who, with great Sums of Money, and a confiderable Force, voluntarily came to his Assistance. Pisistratus, and his Sons, having now conceiv'd great hopes of Success, lest Eretria, in the eleventh Year from their Expulsion, and posses'd themselves of Marathon, a Town of Attica, about ten Miles distant from Athens, whither flockt to them all of their Faction, both from the City, and Country. With these Forces he march'd against the City, and put to flight the Atbenians, who came against him; but, to prevent their rallying, he order'd his Sons to ride after them, and encourage them to go home, and fear nothing from him. Thus he recover'd the Tyranny a third time, which he endeavour'd to establish, not by shedding of Blood, but by feeking Confederates, and making himfelf a considerable Revenue. He took the Sons of as many of his Enemies as remain'd in the City, and fent them to be kept as Hostages, in the Island Naxos, which he had some time since conquer'd, and constituted Lygdamis Governour of it. As for the Alcmeonide, they immediately fled from the City (p).

Pisstratus died not long after his Restitution. He olym. was a Man endued with as many eminent Virtues, 63. 1. as most of the Age, wherein he liv'd; the only A. M. Blemish to his Character, is that he usurp'd the Government, and invaded the Liberty of his Fellow-citizens. However, his Administration was manag'd

⁽p) Herodot. l. 1. a cap. 61 ad cap. 65.

with fo much Mildness and Prudence, as might reproach some of the most lawful Princes; the only Uneafiness of the Yoke being, what lay in the Minds of the Athenians, who had fo long enjoy'd an unbounded Liberty. For, although he follow'd the Reverse of Theseus's Proceedings, by sending the Citizens, who before liv'd in the City, into the Country, to apply themselves to Husbandry, yet he exacted no other Tribute, than the Tenths of the Encrease, which had been formerly paid to their Kings. He neither kill'd, nor banish'd, any, made Spoil of no Man's Fortune or Estate, injur'd none by insolent and haughty Carriage, and abus'd neither Sex by his Lust. As for Solon's Laws, and the Order of the Magistrates, he left them as he found them, and though he had the utmost Reason to hate Solon, yet he made it his earnest Endeavour to detain him in the City, and so long as Solon continued at Athens, made use of his Advice, in the Administration of the Government. He was as learned as any Man of his Time, and a great Encourager of Learning and learned Men, being the first that erected a Publick Library. Some ascribe to him, what others do to Lycurgus of Sparta, that he collected whatever he could get of Homer's Works, which before his Time lay scatter'd and confus'd, and employ'd the ablest Grammarians, who put them into that Order of Iliads, and Odysses, in which they now stand. Amongst the rest Solon is faid to have affisted in this Work. Pisistratus left three Sons, Hippias, Hipparchus, and Thessalus, whereof Hippias, the Eldelt, succeeded him in the Government.

And now to return into Asia. Cyrus being defeated in a late Expedition, against the Massageta, a Nation of Scythia, beyond the River Araxes, wherein Tomyris Queen of the Country cut him off, with a great part of his Army, Cambyses succeeded to the Crown of Persia. During his Reign, which was not above seven Years and five Months (9), the

^(9) Herodot. 1. 3. c. 66.

Ionians remain'd in quiet Subjection, and the other Grecians, in Europe, were not under much Apprehension of Danger from the Persians, Cambyses's Forces being chiefly employed against Egypt. Whilst he was engag'd in this Enterprise, and not long before his Death, a War broke out between the Lacedamonians, and the Island Samos. The Occasion of this Quarrel was as follows. Polycrates, the Son of Aaces, having usurp'd the Government of Samos, at first divided the Power with his two Brethren, Pantagnotus and Syloson, but afterwards murdering the Elder, and banishing the Younger, he resum'd the whole Power into his own Hands, which he establish'd by contracting an Alliance with Amasis, King of Egypt. Polycrates in a short time became so great, that his Fame was spread throughout Ionia and all Greece; for he was attended with fuch remarkable Success, that he always conquer'd wherever he made War. With a Fleet confishing of a 100 Sail, and a 1000 Archers he invaded all his Neighbours without Distinction, holding it for a Rule, that he gratified a Friend more by restoring what he took, than if he had taken nothing from him. He subdued many Islands, and many Cities upon the Continent of Asia: he gave the Lesbians a remarkable Defeat in a Sea-Battle, as they were coming to the Relief of Miletus, and took as many Prisoners as digged a Trench round the Walls of Samos. Whilft Polycrates's Affairs stood in this Posture, Amasis sent to Samos to break off his Alliance with him, who, at this time, being apprehensive of some treasonable Designs against him from his own Subjects, and now releas'd from his Friendship with Amasis, privately sent to Cambyses, who was now raising an Army against Egypt, offering to furnish him with a confiderable Force of Men and Ships, upon Condition that the Men should never return to Samos. Cambyfes willingly accepting his Offer, Polycrates equipt a Navy confilting of 40 Sail, and Mann'd it with those whom he suspected to be

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engag'd in the Faction, and most inclin'd to Rebellion against him. Some say that they never arriv'd in Egypt, but that when they had fail'd as far as the Carpathian Sea, they unanimously resolv'd to go no farther. Others pretend that they did arrive, and were kept there some time, but making their Escape toward Samos, they defeated Polycrates, who met them with his Fleet, and landed in the Island, from whence they were repuls'd, and then fail'd to Lacedamon. Others again fay, that they overcame Polycrates in their Return from Egypt; but Herodotus thinks this very improbable, because if they themselves had been an Overmatch for Polycrates, they needed not to have call'd in the Lacedamonians to their Assistance: Neither can it reasonably be suppos'd, that a small Number of Exiles could overcome Polycrates, who was Master of so great a Force, confifting of Auxiliary Troops, and Samian Archers; especially considering that the whole Families of the Exiles were in his Power, so that if any treasonable Practices had been discover'd between them and the other Citizens, he could when he pleas'd have burnt their Families alive.

However this be, the War between Camby [es and the Egyptians being ended, the Exiles, having made many fruitless Attempts to return home, at length fled to the Lacedemonians for their Affiltance, which with great Difficulty they obtain'd, either in Confideration, as the Samians pretended, of the former Services they had done to Sparta in the Meffenian War, or, as the Spartans themselves declar'd, not so much out of Kindness to the Exiles, as to revenge themselves upon the Samians in general, who had intercepted several Presents sent by them to Crasus King of Lydia, and to them by Amasis King of Egypt. The Corintbians also, who had a Quarrel with the Samians, for carrying back the Boys to Corcyra, whom Periander had taken from thence, to fend them to Halyattes King of Lydia to be gelt, affifted them (r).

⁽r) Herod. 1. 3. ac. 38 ad 49.

Thus re-infore'd, they came with a great Fleet to Samos, laid close Siege to the City, and scal'd the Tower in the Suburbs, which hangs over the Sea: but Polycrates with a party of Men, making a Sally out upon them, gave them a Repulse. The Samians, with some Auxiliary Troops, made a very obstinate Defence, from the upper Tower standing upon the Mountain, but being put to flight, the Enemy made a great Slaughter of them in the Pursuit. In this Action Archias and Lycopes gave very figual Proof of their Valour, they two alone pursuing the Samians till the Passage by which they were to return was blockt up, died very manfully within the Walls of the City: and if the rest of the Lacedamonians had behav'd themselves with equal Bravery, and purfued their Blow, they might have been Masters of the City that Day; but instead of this, after they had fpent fourty Days in the Siege, without any confiderable Advantage, they return'd to Peloponnesus. A Story goes that Polycrates coining a great Quantity of Lead, like the Samian Money, and washing it over with Gold, corrupted the Lacedemonians with it, and thus procur'd their Return. This was the first Expedition which the Lacedamonians undertook against Asia, after they were incorporated with the Dores (s). The Exiles, being deferted by the Lacedamonians, were unable to carry on the War, by reason of their want of Money. They sail'd therefore to Siphnus, and Island in the Agam Sea, at that time remarkable for its Wealth, where they desired to borrow to Talents, but their Request being rejected, they wasted the Country, and took the City, which the Inhabitants were then glad to redeem with 100. After this they took the Island Thyrea near Peloponnesus, and committed it to the Trazenians. From hence they fail'd to Crete drove the Zacynthians out of that Island, and built the

⁽s) Herodet. 1. 3. 4. 56.

City Cydonia, where they continued five Years without Molestation: but in the fixth Year, the Ægineta, in Revenge of a former Defeat which they had receiv'd from the Samians, under the Reign of Amphicrates, King of Samos, came against them with a Fleet, and deleated them in a Sea-battle, and hung up the Beaks of the Ships which the Samians lost in the Engagement, in Minerva's Temple at Ægina(t).

Polycrates had but just escap'd the Danger from the Samian Exiles, when he was unfortunately circumvented by Orates, then Governour of Sardis. Orates being upbraided by one Mitrobates the King's Viceroy in Da-Scylium, that he should suffer so inconsiderable an Island as Samos to lye so near, and not add it to his Master's Dominions, especially considering how easily it might be taken, one Man by the Assistance of 13 arm'd Men having possess'd him felf of it, and now enjoying the Government: or, as others fay, having some perfonal Quarrel with Polycrates, who either by chance or defignedly took no Notice of, and return'd no Answer to a Messenger sent to him by Orates, he resolv'd by some means or other to contrive his Destruction. Polycrates being a Man of Ambition, and greedy of Empire, his repeated Success had fill'd him with the extravagant hopes of being Master of all Tonia, and the Islands. Orætes, making his Advantage of Polycrates's Ambition, fent to let him know, that, having heard what vast Enterprizes he had in hand, and that he wanted Funds sufficient to carry them on, he would furnish him with half the King's Treasure, now in his Possession, if he would receive him, he being in Danger of his Life from Cambyfes, who, as he pretended, refolv'd to kill him. Polycrates immediately fent one Maandrius, his Secretary, to Orates, who was then at Magnesia, to be more fully satisfy'd in the Matter, Orates having fill'd feveral Chests with Stones, and cover'd the Tops with Gold, Ma-

⁽t) Herodot. 1. 3. a cap. 56 ad cap. 60.

andrius, not suspecting the Cheat, gave an Account of what he had feen, to Polycrates, who, then, was impatient till he had visited Orates himself, and, notwithstanding the Warning of the Oracles, and the repeated Importunities of his Friends to the contrary, especially of his Daughter, who in a Dream had feen him lifted up into the Air, where he was wash'd by Jupiter, and anointed by the Sun, sail'd to Magnesia, taking with him, amongst others, Democedes of Crotona, at that time the most celebrated Physician of his Country. Polycrates no sooner olymp. arriv'd at Magnesia, but Orates order'd him to be 64. 2. feiz'd, and hung upon a Cross: by which means his a. M. Daughter's Dream was accomplish'd, for whilft he 3481. hung upon the Cross, it rain'd, and, by reason of the Violence of his Pain, and the Heat of the Sun, he fweated abundantly. Orates dismis'd the Samians who came along with Polycrates, telling them, they ought to thank him for their mild Usage, and their Liberty, but the Strangers and Slaves he kept as Prisoners of War (u).

The News of Polycrates's Death being brought to Samos, Maandrius, whom Polycrates had left to administer the Government in his Absence, built an Altar to Jupiter Eleutherius; round which he erected a Temple. After this, calling the People together, he in a publick Assembly inveigh'd against Polycrates for having usurp'd the Government, and offer'd to refign the Power, and restore the City to its ancient Form of Government, if they would give him fix Talents of Polycrates's Money, and fettle the Priesthood of the Temple, which he had built to Jupiter Eleutherius upon his Heirs for ever. Whereupon, one Telesiarchus, a Man of good Repute in the City, upbraiding him for his mean Compliance, and telling him that he was not fit to Govern, and that he ought to give an Account of the Money which he had al-

⁽u) Herodot, l. 3. a cap. 120, ad cap. 126.

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ready mis-applied, Meandrius, reflecting upon this sharp Rebuke, consider'd that if he resign'd the Government some Body else would take Possession of it, and therefore thought it his best way to keep it himself; so returning into the Citadel, and calling them together again, on pretence of giving an account of the Money, he order'd them all to be bound. Whilst they were under Consinement, Meandrius was seiz'd with a violent sit of Sickness, which his Brother Lycaretus thinking would have carry'd him off, order'd all the Prisoners to be kill'd, that he might secure to himself the Succession; for the Samians seem'd to him to be unwilling to recover their Liberty (w). Meandrius however recover'd, and held the Government some time.

Olymp. 65. 1. A. M. 3484.

After these Revolutions at Samos, in the second Year of Darius, the Son of Hystaspes, and King of Persia, who succeeded to that Crown, having, by the Affiltance of fix other Persian Nobles, kill'd Smerdis, one of the Magi, who usurp'd the Government, and held it some time after Cambyses's Death. the Inhabitants of Platea, a Town fituate upon the Confines of Baotia and Attica, and always at variance with Thebes, being provok'd by the continual Infults of the Thebans, fued for Affistance to Cleomenes, not long fince come to the Crown of Sparta, by the Death of his Father Anaxandrides, and offer'd to put themselves under the Protection of the Lacedemonians. They advis'd them to apply themselves to the Athenians, who were much nearer, and as able to help them; and by this means they thought, that the Athenians would be continually harafid with the Beotian War. The Athenians readily ceiv'd them into Confederacy, and join'd with them against the Thebans; when both Armies were ready to engage, the Corinthians interpos'd their Mediation, and endeavour'd to perswade the Thebans to

⁽ w) Herodot. 1. 3. c. 142, 143.

leave the Plateenses to their Liberty, whether they would be number'd amongst the Baotians, or not. Whereupon both Parties seeming to be satisfied with what the Corinthians propos'd, the Athenians drew off their Forces, and were attackt by the Thebans; but the Athenians foon gave them a Repulse, and exceeding the Limits which the Corinthians fix'd, reduc'd the Theban Territories within the River Afopus, and a City call'd Hysia (x). And from this time these were the Boundaries of the Territories of Platea and Thebes. This was the Occasion of fo ftrict an Alliance between Athens and Platea, as prov'd a Thorn in the Side of the Theban Confederacy, and all the Lacedamonian Party for a long time after. in Bolling - and

But to return to Samos. Syloson, who was still in Banishment, hearing the News of his Brother Polycrates's Death, immediately went to Susa, and prefuming upon his former Acquaintance with Darius, to whom he had given a Cloak at Memphis, Darius being then a private Man in Cambyfes's Army, in the Expedition against Egypt, desir'd him to settle him on his Brother's Throne, which was now usurp'd by Meandrius, who had been their Servant. Darrus in Gratitude to Syloson for his former Kindness, sent an Army with him to Samos, under the Conduct of Otanes, one of the Persian Nobles, who had affisted in killing the Magi. Syloson, and his Persian Forces, upon their Arrival at Samos, found the City almost desolate, and hardly any left to hold up an Hand against them: Meandrius, with his Party, upon Condition that they should march out of the City, without any Injury, offer'd to furrender, and quit the Island, and Otmes accepting of these Proposals they came to a Treaty, whereupon the most considerable Men of the Persians, entring the City, plac'd themselves over against the Citadel. It happen'd that

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⁽x) Herodet, 1.6. c. 108.

Maandrius's Brother Charilaus, who was disorder'd in his Head, and at that time under Confinement, having Intelligence of what had been transacted, and by chance, through some Chink in his Apartment under ground, feeing the Persians sitting quietly before the Citadel, with as great a Noise as he could make desir'd a Conference with his Brother, wherein he upbraided him for unjustly keeping him in Chains, and for his Cowardize in tamely furrendring to the Persians; telling him that if he himself was afraid, lend him but his Soldiers, and he would foon rid the Island of them. Maandrius, not in the least imagining, that he could give any Turn to his Affairs, the Persian Forces being vastly superiour to his, out of pure Envy to Syloson, and a Resolution of doing the Samians as much Mischief as he could before he left them, indulg'd his Brother in his mad Humour, and permitted him to use what Assistance he could get, in Hopes that this would so incense the Persians, that they would treat the Samians with all the Rage and Cruelty imaginable, and that Syloson should not obtain the Kingdom without some Difficulty. And it succeeded according to his Wishes: for Charilaus with his Forces kill'd the Persians, who fate secure before the Citadel, not in the least suspecting any Infurrection, whereupon the other Persians, who were without the Gates, coming up, gave Charilaus and his Troops a Repulse. Otanes, seeing the Slaughter that had been made amongst the Persians, notwithstanding his Master's Injunctions to the contrary, gave Orders. to his Soldiers to kill the Samians without Distinction. As for Meandrius, he, in the mean time, with his Plate, and other rich Furniture, made his Escape through a Cave, which he had dug from the Citadel to the Sea, and fled to Sparta, where endeavouring to bribe Cleomenes, by the Advice of the Ephori, he was expell'd out of Pelopomesus, lest he should corrupt some of the Lacedamonians.

Samos being taken, Syloson was plac'd upon the Throne (y): but what through the War, and the Cruelty of Syloson afterwards, the City paid very dear for their Change. Whilst Otanes was employed in subduing Samos, and fetting Sylofon upon his Brother's Throne, Darius was engag'd in a more hazardous Attempt. Babylon, formerly subdued by Cyrus, during the Usurpation of the Magi, taking the Advantage of the confus'd State of the Persian Empire, fortified it felf, and made all other necessary preparations for a Revolt. Darius, being inform'd of these proceedings, advanc'd with a numerous Army before the Walls, where he spent one whole Year, and seven Months in a formal Siege, without any hopes of taking it; when at length Zopyrus, the Son of Megabyzus one of the Persian Nobles who assisted in killing the Magi, having flit his own Nose and Ears, cut his Hair, and beaten himself, to raise the pity of the Babylonians, and render his Story the more plaufible, pretended himself a Renegade, and that Darius had us'd him at this barbarous rate, only for advising him to raise the Siege, because there appear'd no hopes of taking the The Babylonians, being thus impos'd upon, receiv'd Zopyrus, who then betray'd the City to the Persians, after they had lain before it a Year and nine Months: and Darius being now Master of Babylon, demolish'd all the Walls and Gates of the City, and impal'd 3000 of the principal Citizens, and as a reward of his fervice constituted Zopyrus perpetual Governour of the City, and exempted him from all Tribute as long as he liv'd.

At the same time Athens was the Scene of fresh Commotions, which prepar'd the way for the utter Dissolution of the Tyranny. Hipparchus, Pisstratus's second Son, being in love with one Harmodius, a Youth of celebrated Beauty, and the belov'd Boy of Aristogiton, a Citizen of middle rank, often attempted

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⁽y) Herodot. l. 3. a cap. 144. ad 150.

to fatisfy his unnatural lust upon him, but was always deny'd. Harmodius being at length weary'd with the continual follicitations of Hipparchus, acquainted Aristogiton with the whole matter, who fearing lest his Rival should by main Force and Authority wrest his Minion from him, Study'd all ways to be reveng'd on him, and to dissolve the Tyranny then in possession of his elder Brother Hippias; and Hipparchus, who no less refented the haughty and repeated denial of his passion, was as firmly resolv'd to be reveng'd on Harmodius. Not long after this, some solemn proceffion was to be made wherein Harmodius's Sifter, being order'd to carry the Basket, this Office being always perform'd by some of the Athenian Virgins of best quality, through Hipparchus's means, was put by, as unworthy of the Office; tho others have thought he ravish'd her (z). Harmodius could not brook fuch a great and publick affront, and Aristogiton was more enrag'd than the other; wherefore both of them, to be reveng'd on Hipparchus, enter'd into a Confpiracy against the Government. Having prepar'd all things necessary for their design, they only waited an opportunity to put it in execution, when the most favourable one they could have wish'd for offer'd it felf, the great Festival Panathenea then at hand, being the only Day on which they could effect it without fuspicion; the Ceremonies of the Day being perform'd by the Citizens in Armour. They took care not to Engage too many in the Plot, the fewer Persons being privy to it, they were in less danger of being difcover'd: and they did not doubt but others would be ready to fecond and affift them in afferting and recovering their liberty, when once they had given the first blow. The Day being come, Hippias with his Guards came to the Ceramicus, a place without the City, where he was met by Harmodius and

⁽²⁾ Confer Justin. l. 2. c. 9. who instead of Hipparchus mentions Diocles, a Son of Pisistratus, as guilty of this Rape. Arifto-

Aristogiton with their other Accomplices, ready to execute their bloody purpose, when by chance, seeing one of the Conspirators talking very familiarly with Hippias, who was very eafy of Access, they concluded they were all discover'd, and should be immediately apprehended: wherefore they were refolv'd to be reveng'd on the Traytor first, who they thought had discover'd them, and blasted all their hopes when they were just come to the very Crisis. With this resolution they rush'd into the City, where they found Hipparchus in a place call'd Leocorium. who not suspecting their design upon his Life, both of them impatient of revenge, one for the difgrace put upon his Sister, the other out of an equal concern for his Friend, before Hipparchus could put himself in a posture of defence, kill'd him upon the spot. Aristogiton for some time defended himself from the Guards; but the multitude flocking in, he was taken, after he had receiv'd many dangerous wounds: Harmodius was kill'd upon the place. Hippias, who was all this while in the Ceramicus, having receiv'd the news of his Brother's death, with a compos'd countenance, not betraying the least figns of grief, order'd those who were affisting at the Ceremonies, and being at some distance from him, had not heard of what had happen'd, to lay down their Arms by which means the Conspirators where discover'd by their Poniards; the folemnity being usually perform'd only with a Shield and a Spear. Hippias and his Brother had not hitherto shewn any distrust or jealousy of the fafety of their Persons, and therefore kept not many Guards about them, but thought themselves fecure in the affections of their subjects, because they had not render'd their Government burthenfom or uneafy to the People, but had acted in every thing according to the strictest rules of Justice and Prudence. They had exacted only the 20th part of the publick Revenue, exceedingly beautify'd and adorn'd the City, wag'd War with success, took care of their Religious R 2 Rites

Rites, and in all other respects preserv'd the Citizens in the use and enjoyment of their settled Laws and Privileges: only one of them was always Magistrate, and others held Yearly offices under them, Pifistratus, the Son of Hippias, and Grandson to him of the fame name, and Founder of the Tyranny, having been Archon, and in his Year of Government built a Temple in honour of the twelve Gods, and another dedicated to Apollo Pythius. But after this Hippias, being exasperated by this inhuman Butchery of his Brother, began to provide for his own fafety, and Govern'd with a stiffer hand, often exercifing great feverities towards the Athenians, and putting many of them to death: and that he might establish himfelf by a forreign Alliance, he marry'd his Daughter Archedice to Hippocles the Son of Antides Tyrant of Olym. Lampsacus, whom he knew to be in great savour

A. M. and esteem with Darius (a). Hippias suspecting some-3491. thing more defign'd than meerly the Death of his Brother, that he might know the bottom of the Conspiracy, tortur'd amongst many others one Leana, an Harlot kept by Aristogiton: She bore the Torments with great constancy, and that she might not make any discovery, bit off her Tongue, and spit it in the Face of her Executioners; in memory of which the Athenians, when they were deliver'd from the Tyranny, consecrated in the Cittadel a Lioness without a Tongue (b). They erected Statues likewise in Honour of Harmodius and Aristogiton, as the Deliverers of their Country; for though they did not actually procure the Freedom of Athens, yet the Honour of it is folely afcrib'd to them, whose Example led the way to it. These Statues were carried away by Xerxes into Asia, when he took Athens, and were afterwards fent back by Alexander (c), or Antiochus (d), or Seleucus (e). The Athenians, that they might pay

⁽a) Thucydid. l. 6. (b) Confer Pausan. in Acticis cum Polyan. Stratagem. l. 8. c. 45. (c). Pausan, in Acticis. (d) Valer. Max. l. 2. (e) Aulus Gell. l. 9. cap. 2.

yet greater respect to the memory of their Deliverers, made a Decree that their Names should not be given

to Slaves (f).

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en.

yet

About this time Miltiades, the Son of Cimon, reduc'd the Thracian Chersonesus under the Dominion of Athens. His Uncle Miltiades was formerly Governour of this Place, and, dying without Issue, left the Government to this Milliades's Elder Brother, Stefagoras. He being engag'd in a War, with the Inhabitants of Lampfacus, deriv'd to him by his Uncle Miltiades, was kill'd by a pretended Deserter, in the Senate-House in the Chersonesus. Stesagoras leaving no Issue, the Pisstratide, although they had kill'd his Father Cimon, yet confer'd many Favours upon Miltiades, and now fent him to take upon him the Government of the Chersonesus. Miltiades upon his Arrival at the Chersonesus, kept at home, being refolv'd to revenge the Death of his Brother, fo that when the principal Men of the Chersonesus came to condole with him, he put them in Chains, and thus obtain'd the Government of the Chersonesus, after which he married Hegesipyle, the Daughter of Olorus King of Thrace (g). There is another Account of this Expedition, which fays, that the Athenians, intending to fend a Colony to the Cherlonesus, consulted the Delphian Oracle, whom they should choose General: for the Thracians being then in Possession of the Chersonesus, they expected they should meet with some Opposition. The Oracle expresly assign'd the Command to Miltiades, and assur'd them of Success if they made him General. Miltiades, in his Passage to the Chersonesus, touch'd upon the Island Lemnos, requiring the Inhabitants to furrender: but they laughing at his Demands, replied they would, when he could fail from home to Lemnos with a Northerly Wind, which is contrary to those who fail from Athens to these Coasts. Miltiades's

⁽f) Herodot. l. 4. c. 183. 87. (g) Herodot, l. 6. c. 39.

Darius, having reduc'd Babylon, and constituted Zopyrus Governour, levied an Army confisting of feventy Thousand Men, and fitted out a Navy of fix hundred Sail, with a Design to invade Scythia (i). Having laid a Bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus, near Chalcedon, he pass'd his Army into Europe. From hence he march'd through the Territories of the Getæ and Thracians: the Getæ, after some faint Refiltance, submitted; as for the Thracians, they made no Opposition. Being advanc'd to the River Ister. which divides the Getæ from the Scythians, he pass'd with his Army into Scythia, over a Bridge which the Asiatick Greeks, whom he sent before with his Fleet, had made against his Coming. Having pass'd the Ifter, he commanded the Ionians to march after him, with his Naval Force: but Coes of Mitylene per-

⁽h) Corn. Nep. in Miltiade, confer Herodot, l. 6, c. 140. (i) Herodot, l. 4, c. 1, 83, 87.

swaded him to leave them to guard the Bridge, that they might have a secure Retreat, in Case they should be loft in their March through fuch a defart Country. Darius then order'd them to fail home to Alia, if he did not return to the Bridge in fixty Days. After he spent some time in long and tedious Marches in pursuit of the Scythians, who led him about as they pleas'd, and would by no means be brought to a Battle, he was at length, for want of Provision, forc'd to make an inglorious Retreat, wherein himself and his whole Army was in Danger of being cut off. For part of the Scythians, as being better acquainted with their own Country, by a nearer Passage reach'd the Bridge at the Ister before him, and endeavour'd to perswade the Grecians to take this Opportunity of recovering their Liberty, by breaking down the Bridge, and leaving Darius and his Forces to be flaughter'd by the Scythians; especially fince they might do it, without Breach of Faith to the King, the time appointed for his Return being expir'd. Miltiades was very earnest for following the Scythians Advice, but Histiaus, Tyrant of Miletus, objected that, though it was the Interest of the Ionians in general to be freed from their Subjection to Darius, yet it was by no means so to them, who bore Command under him. For their Power and Interest being embark'd in the same Bottom with that of Darius, if his Empire was once destroy'd, their Government must expire with it, and they themfelves suffer by the Hands of their Fellow-citizens (k). The rest of the Ionian Tyrants were presently sway'd by Histiaus's Advice, which struck in with their own private Interest; so Miltiades fearing that what he had faid would come to the King's Ear, fo many of his Friends being privy to it, thought it his fafelt way to abandon his Government of the Chersonesus, and return to Athens (1). Herodotus gives a different

⁽k) Confer Herodot. 1. 4. c. 127. cum Corn, Nep. in Miltiade. (1) Corn, Nep. ibidem,

⁽m) Herodot. l. 6. c. 41, 42. (n) Herodot. l. 4. c. 143. (o) Idem

having a very great Influence upon the King, warn'd him of the ill Confequences which might follow, if he entrusted a Grecian, and one of fo much Cunning and Policy, as Histiaus, with the Command of such a Place. For, Myrcinus being fituated upon the River Strymon, and abounding with Materials for Shipping, with Men and Money, and all the Country round being inhabited by Greeks and Barbarians, who, upon every Opportunity, would be ready to rebel, if they had any one to head them, he might by this means kindle a Flame in his own Dominions, if he suffer'd Histiaus to continue there any longer. Darius therefore immediately sent for Histiaus to Sardis, under a pretence that he could not want his Counsel, whom he had already found so serviceable to him, in his Affairs, but with a real Defign never to fuffer him to return into Greece, for fear of the future Mischief he might do him. From Sardis he carried him along with him to Susa (p), where he entertain'd him with all the Kindness and Freedom of a Friend, but at the same time kept a watchful Eye upon him, as his most dangerous Enemy. Histiaus easily saw through the King's Design, and was in a great Measure the chief Instrument of all those Calamities, which in a short time after this befel the Persian Empire.

Megabazus, who was all this while in Europe, carried on the War in Thrace, with very great Success. He took the City Perinthus, and many other Places of Importance, and reduc'd all Thrace (q); from whence he pass'd into Paonia, and subduing the Paones, according to the King's Order, transported them into Asia (r). After this, he sent seven of the Persian Nobility Ambassadors to Amyntas, King of Macedon, to command Earth and Water, the Tokens of Subjection to the King of Persia. Amyntas com-

⁽p) Idem ibidem. c. 25. (q) Herodot, l. 5. c. 1, 2. (r) Idem ibidem c. 15, 16.

plied with their Demands, and entertain'd them very honourably, with a very rich Banquet, prepar'd on purpose for them: after the Banquet was ended, the Persians desir'd that some Women might be brought in to them, according to the Custom of their own Country, who when they made Entertainments, always had the Company of the Ladies to make up the Mirth of the Banquet. The Macedonian Women being brought in, the Persians, who were now heated with Wine, began to be very rude, some of them attempting to ravish them, Alexander, the Son of Amyntas, a Youth of a noble Spirit, being highly incens'd at the insolent Behaviour of the Persians, who had violated the Customs of Macedon, resolv'd to be reveng'd on them. Wherefore perswading his Father, who was now very old, to leave the Company, and retire to his rest, himself entertain'd the Persians with all the seeming Easiness, and prevail'd upon them to dismiss the Women, under a pretence that they should wash themselves, and appear in a better Dress, and that then they should enjoy them. In the mean time, he order'd some beardless young Men to be disguis'd in Women's Cloths, and then brought them to the Persians, having first privately arm'd them with Poniards under their Cloths, and given them Instructions to murder the Persians. The young Men were no fooner brought in, but the Perfians, supposing them to be Women, began to be as rude as before, and to ask that they might be admitted to their Beds; but the young Men, instead of complying with their Defires, executed their Orders, and kill'd the Persians upon the Spot: and their Retinue was immediately murder'd after the fame manner. Not long after, strict Inquisition was made after the Persian Ambassadours; but Alexander voluntarily giving a large Summ of Money, and his own Sister Gygaa in Marriage to Bubaris, a Persian, one of the Inquisitors, the whole Matter was buried in Silence (s).

About the same time a great Change was made at Athens. The Athenians were very uneafy under the Government of Hippias, whose Temper was very much alter'd by the Death of Hipparchus, and was now grown insupportable, insomuch that they would gladly have shaken off the Yoke. At the same time the Akmaonida, who had made several fruitless Attempts to re-establish themselves at Athens, and recover her Liberty, lay still waiting for an Opportunity to effect it. To this end they had fortify'd Lypsidrium in Paonia, and abounding in Money had brib'd the Amphiciyones to let them build a new Temple at Delphi, which was very magnificent and stately, and much finer than that which stood there before; and, as the Athenians fay, had corrupted the Pythia, that whenever the Spartans came to confult her, she should always propose to them setting Athens at Liberty. This being constantly done, the Lacedæmonians, out of that superstitious Reverence which they always paid to the Oracle, , fent Anchimelius with an Army to expel the Pisistratide, with whom they had hitherto maintain'd a fair Correspondence, and now took up Arms against them, not out of any Quarrel or fecret Jealoufy, but a meer Principle of blind Devotion, because they thought the Commands of the God, were more facred, and ought to be more religiously observ'd than the otherwise inviolable Laws of Friendship, and Alliance. Hippias being alarm'd at these Preparations against him, had contracted an Alliance with Cineus King of Theffaly, who march'd in Person to his Assistance with a Supply of a Thousand Horse; and as soon as the Spartans landed at Phalerum, the Athenians receiv'd them with fuch Fury, that amongst many others they kill'd Anchimolius the General, beat the rest to their Ships, and forc'd them to return home (t).

After this Defeat the Lacedemonians fent another Army, by Land, under the Command of Cleomenes,

⁽t) Herodot. 1. 5. c. 62, 63.

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who, invading the Territories of Attica, was encounter'd by the Thessalian Horse, above fourty of which being kill'd, the rest were put to flight, and made their Escape as fast as they could to Thessaly. After this Cleomenes advanc'd with his Army to the City, and block'd up the Tyrants within the Pelasgick Wall, but not having made the necessary Preparations to carry on the Siege, and the Pisistratidæ being plentifully furnish'd with all manner of Provisions, he intended to have march'd homewards in a few Days, had not an Accident, which fell out to his Advantage, invited him to stay out longer. As the Children of the Pisistratidæ were privately convey'd out of the City, Cleomenes's Army intercepted them, which so broke the Measures of their Parents, that they were forc'd to compound with the Athe-Olymp. nians for their Ransom to depart out of Attica in five 67. 3. Days. Thus was the Tyranny diffolv'd after it had stood about thirty five Years: Seventeen whereof Pisstratus himself reign'd; his Sons held the Government the other eighteen (u). Hippias being forc'd to quit his Government at Athens went to Sigaum. From Sigaum he went to Lampfacus, from whence, having refus'd both Anthemus and Ioclos, either of which had been offer'd him by Amyntas King of Macedon, he went to the Persian Court, where he contriv'd all the Mischief which fell not only upon Athens, but upon all Greece in general, about twenty Years after.

The State of Athens, which before was very great, by this suddain Revolution grew still more considerable: however it was divided by two powerful Parties, headed by two Men, who struggled hard for the Sovereign Authority: Clist benes, one of the Alcmæonidæ, by his Mother's fide Grandson to Clisthenes King of Sicyon, who, as the Report goes, was the Man who brib'd the Priestess at Delphi: and Isagoras

⁽u) Ariftot. Pol. 1. 5. c. 12.

the Son of Tisander. Clisthenes being too weak for the other Faction, that he might ingratiate himself with the People, whereas before they were divided but into four Tribes, nam'd from Ion's four Sons Geleon, Agicor, Argades and Hoples, encreas'd them to ten, call'd by the Names of as many Heroes. The first of these was Hippothoon, the Son of Neptune.

2. Antiochus of Hercules.

3. Ajax of Telamon.

4. Leon the Athenian, who at the Command of the Oracle devoted his Daughters to Death, for the Sasety of the Common-wealth.

5. Erectheus, who slew Immaradus the Son of Eumolpus.

6. Ageus.

7. Oeneus, the natural Son of Pandion.

8. Acamas, the Son of Theseus.

9. Cecrops.

10. Pandion.

Isagoras, envying Clisthenes the Respect which this had gain'd him, procur'd Cleomenes King of Sparta, with whom he had contracted Friendship and Alliance, during the War with Hippias, to come once more against Athens. Cleomenes no sooner sent to Athens, but Clisthenes was banish'd, and afterwards coming with an Army, besides many of the Alcmanionidae, who had been formerly in Banishment with Clisthenes, expell'd seven hundred Families more sit for Service, under pretence of their being guilty of the Death of Cylon, as Isagoras had infinuated to

him(x).

Upon this account Cleomenes having expell'd Clifthenes, the next thing he endeavour'd was to diffolve the Senate, and commit their Power to Isagor as and his Faction; but both Senate and People stiffly opposing these violent Proceedings, Cleomenes and Isagor as seiz'd upon the Cittadel, in which they were besieg'd two Days; On the third Cleomenes and Isagor as, with the Lacedamonians, had leave to be gone, but the Athenians, who had assisted them, were imprison'd and put to death, and Clisthenes with the seven hundred Families was recall'd, who immediately restor'd

⁽x) Herodot, l. 5. c. 66. & 69. confer Paufan, in Atticis.

To Clifthenes also is ascrib'd the introducing of the Oftracism into the Athenian State; it being generally agreed, that it was brought in not long after the expulsion of the Pisstratida (y). For considering the Calamities which had befaln them during their Usurpation, the Athenians for the time to come were for reducing all to an equal Power and Authority (2). Whoever therefore of the Citizens grew any ways remarkable, either for Glory, Nobility, or Eloquence, for fear he should grow too great and affect the Sovereignty, was by the Oftracifm forc'd to abfent from the City ten Years. The Form of this punishment was as follows: the name of the Man. whom they thought to be in greatest Power and Authority with the People, and most likely to overturn the Government, was written in an Oyster-shell, from

fubmit to it, upon no other account than their extraordinary Services and Eminent Zeal for the Good

and Interest of their Country.

whence it took its name, and brought to the Forum, where a place was rail'd in on purpose to receive the Suffrages. He that had most written with his name was order'd to leave the City: The first that was banish'd by this Law, according to some was Clisthenes the Author of it, or, as others say, Hipparchus, and Charmus Kinsman to Pisstratus. This punishment in sew Years grew so common that it was lookt upon as a credit rather than a disgrace, the Persons who underwent it, being generally of the best quality, and were neither deprived of their Goods, Money, nor Estate, and only oblig'd to be absent from the City; but were either by the Prevalence of a Party, or the Inconstancy of the giddy Multitude forc'd to

⁽y) Elian Var. Hist. I, 13. c. 24. (1) Diod. Sic. I. 11. Plutarch: in Aristide & Pericle.

The Athenians having appeas'd these domestick Commotions, expected that Cleomenes would foon be with them again with another Army, and that matters would proceed to an open Rupture between the two States. Wherefore to provide against him, they endeavour'd to strengthen themselves by an Alliance with Persia, and accordingly they dispatcht Ambassadors to Sardis to treat with Artaphernes Darius's Brother, and Vice-roy of Lydia, who refus'd to admit them upon any other Terms, than their giving him Earth and Water. The Ambassadors, who had a greater regard to the present necessity than the Glory and Honour of their Country, basely comply'd to his infolent demands, and promis'd their submission, by which they incurr'd the displeasure of the People, who fcorn'd the Alliance of any Prince whatever, bought at the expence of their Honour and Liberty. Cleomenes in the mean time having levy'd Forces throughout all Peloponnesus, with a full resolution of being reveng'd on the Athenians, and fetting up Isagoras Tyrant over them, invaded Eleusis whilst the Beotians, whom he had engag'd in the quarrel, on one Hand surpriz'd Oenoe and Hysie, and the Chalcidenses, on the other, laid waste the other Parts of Attica. The Athenians being thus furrounded, could scarce resolve on which side to make their defence: at length it was determin'd they should march directly against Cleomenes the chief Author of all their Misfortunes, who lay with his Peloponnesian Forces at Eleusis. When both Armies were just ready to engage, the Corinthians first reflecting upon the Injustice of their Cause, withdrew, and lest the Field; and Demaratus the other King of Sparta, who had hitherto agreed with his Colleague Cleomenes, foon follow'd their example; upon which it was afterwards enacted at Sparta, that but one of the Kings should go into the Field, and that the other should stay at home. The other Confederates feeing the Kings could not agree, and the Corinthians gone, drew off their Forces too. This

This was the fourth time the Dores came out of Peloponnesus into Attica: twice in an hostile manner, and twice to affist the Athenians. First, when they planted a Colony at Megara, in Codrus the last King of Athens's reign; the second and third times to expel the Pisitratide; and now the fourth, when Cleomenes with the Peloponnesians invaded Eleusis (a). The Enemy's Army having made this dishonourable retreat without any action, the Athenians were refolv'd to take this opportunity of revenging themfelves upon the Chalcidenses; but the Baotians having advanc'd as far as the River Euripus to their affiftance, they thought it more adviseable to engage them first, and accordingly fell upon them very furiously, made a great Slaughter amongst them, and took 700 Prisoners. The same Day they pass'd over into Eubæa, and having defeated the Chalcidenses, planted a Colony of 4000 of their own Men, whom they put in posfession of the Lands of the 'In mosala, who were the wealthier fort of the Chalcidenses.

This Defeat of the Chalcidenses engag'd the Athenians in a War with the Thebans and the rest of the Bæotians; who finding themselves overmatch'd, were advis'd by the Oracle to defire the Affiltance of the Inhabitants of Agina. This Island, which had of old been the irreconcileable Enemy, and was glad of any Opportunity to humble the Pride of Athens, could not refuse an Alliance so agreeable to their Humour and Interest; and therefore whilst the Athenians were employing their Force against the Baotians, the Eginetæ, without formally proclaiming War against them, in their long Ships pass'd over into Attica, laid waste the Country, and took the Port Phalerum. This was a great Blow to Athens, especially in that Juncture when so strong a Power on the other side was making head against her. For at that time the Lacedæmonians, having discover'd

⁽a) Herodot. 1. 5. c. 76.

how they had been deluded by the Alemaonida, who corrupted the Oracle, and had thereby loft their old Friends the Pifistratide, but got no Thanks from the Athenians; and having been moreover forewarn'd by the Oracles, which Cleomenes had found in the Citadel at Athens, that they should suffer much Diltress from that State, which had long been languishing under the Tyrants, and now very fenfibly gather'd Strength after the Recovery of its Liberty, thought the only way to provide for their own Safety, would be to reduce it to the fame State of Weakness, by re-establishing the Tyranny. Hippias was ready at their Call, and came to Sparta; where Sosicles, the Corinthian Ambassadour, and the rest of the Confederates, stiffly oppoling any Attempts of this Nature, blafted all his Hopes of recovering Athens at that time; upon which he return'd into Asia, where he continued plotting and contriving the Re-establishment of himself and his whole Family, or the utter Ruin and Destruction of the Common-wealth. To this end he was continually perswading Artaphernes, how easy a Matter it would be for the King to Conquer Athens, and this feem'd to have had some Effect upon him; for, when the Athenians fent to delire him not to give any Credit to the Exiles, he, as he had two or three Years before told them, they must give Earth and Water, fo now he only answer'd them, that, if they would consult their own Safety, they should receive Hippias: But these Menaces made fo little Impression upon the Athenians, that they were resolved to take up Arms against Persia, rather than comply with Artaphernes's Demands.

The Athenians could not have wish'd for a better Opportunity to begin the War: For, beside the late unsuccessful Expedition, which Darius had made against the Scythians, wherein he sustain'd the utmost Disgrace, he was now embroil'd in yet greater Dissiculties, all Ionia being up in Arms, and in Rebellion against him, under the Conduct of Aristagoras,

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Kinsman to Histiaus, and his Deputy at Miletus. The Occasion of this Revolt was as follows. In a late Sedition in the Island Naxos, some of the principal Men of the Island, being expell'd by the People, fled to Miletus, in Hopes that, upon the account of their former Friendship with Histiaus, they should obtain some Succours from him, and be restor'd to their Country. Histiaus, being still at Darius's Court at Suja, Aristagoras his Deputy, not out of Kindness or Friendship to them, but a Design of reducing the Island under the Persian Yoke (none of the Islands call'd Cyclades, whereof Naxos was one, being yet subject to the King) promis'd to use his Interest with Artaphernes, the King's Brother, and Viceroy of Sardis, to obtain a Supply, and by that means carry them back to Naxos. Aristagoras immediately went to Sardis, and acquainted Artaphernes with his Defign, who communicated it to the King. Darius approving of it, Artaphernes presently fent Megabates, a Persian, of the Family of the Achamenida, and related to him and the King, with a very numerous Force, and a Fleet confisting of 200 Sail of Ships: Megabates then fail'd to Miletus, where being join'd by Aristagoras, and his Ionian Forces, he fail'd from thence to the Island Chios. Upon their Arnival there, a Quarrel arose between Megabates and Aristagoras about one Scylan, Captain of a Ship, which came from Myndus, whom Megabates, because he had found no Watch kept in his Ship, had us'd very barbaroufly. Aristagoras, very much refenting the fevere Treatment of Soylax, expostulated the Matter with Megabates, and this Quarrel proceeded fo far, that Megabates, to revenge himself on Aristagoras, privately fent to Naxos an Account of the Preparations against them, in Hopes of defeating Aristagoras's Defigne and, by that means, of bringing him under Dilgrace with the King. The Inhabitants of Nazas, being thus inform'd of their Delign, fortified their City, and, bebefore Ariftagoras and Megabates came, were preparld to receive them: So that after they had spent four Months in the Siege, and wasted a great part of the King's Treasure, to no purpose, they were forc'd to return into Afia. Ariftagoras, being thus difappointed, and unable to make good his Promife to Artuphernes, was in great Perplexity; besides this, his Army was very clamorous for their Pay, and he, having already spent all his Money in the Siege of Naxos, was unable to fatisfy their Demands: Megabates, though he had been the chief Cause of their Miscarriage at Naxos, did all he could to foment these Discontents amongst the Soldiers, who were already very much disaffected to Aristagoras (b).

Amidit these Perplexities, Aristagoras, being afraid Olymp. that, for his late unsuccessful Attempt upon Naxos, 69. 3. he should be turn'd out of his Government at Miletus, 3502. thought the only way to provide for his own Safety was to make an open Revolt. At the fame time it happen'd that Hiftieus, who was now grown weary of the Court, where he enjoy'd, with great Restraint, no other Pleasure, than what's private Man might bestow upon himself, sent private instructions to his Kiniman Aristugoras was raife some Rebellion in lower Afin; where, maving great Influence and Authority, he thought his Prefence would be required to appeare it. Aristagoras was not a little elevated at this Melfage from Hilliams, and bherefore proceeded in his Enterprise with the utmost Vigour. First then the abandon'd his own Tyrany, and restor'd Milesus to its Liberty, and tuen'd out all the King's Governours of the lonian Cities After this he was fent Ambaffadour to Sparta, where having in vain aviempted to corrupt Gleomoines with fifty Talends, he departed from the noe to Arbeits. Here he mer with better Successy than he had done at Sparta : "For the Athenians, being exasperated with Artaphernes's late

⁽b) Herodot, 1. 5. a cap! 30 ad 35.

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Answer to their Ambassadours, and apprehensive of the Persians, were very glad of this Opportunity of giving him the first Blow, especially in Defence of the Ionians, who originally descended from Athens. The Athenians therefore fent one Melanthius with a Fleet consisting of twenty Sail, which were afterwards join'd by five Galleys from Eretria. Upon the Arrival of this Fleet in Ionia, the Army of the Rebels affembled at Ephefus, from whence, leaving their Navy at Coreses on the Coast of Epbesus, under the Conduct of Charopinus, Ariftagoras's Brother, and Hermophantus, Aristagoras himself continuing at Miletus, they march'd by the River Cayfirus. Having pass'd the Mountain Tmolus they surpriz'd Sardis, when no Enemy was heard of or suspected, insomuch that Artaphernes, the Governour, had no other Hopes of Safety, than by retiring into the Citadel, which himself defended with what small Force he could get. The whole City was immediately in Flames; at length the Lydians and Perstans, who were in the City, charg'd the Enemy with great Bravery near the River Pactolus, which runs through the Forum. This Attack was made with fuch good Success, that the Ionians thought it adviseable to retreat to the Mountain Tmolus, from whence they made their Escape by Night to their Ships. The Persians, who were within the River Halys, being alarm'd at what had happen'd at Sardis, made what haste they could to affilt the Lydians; and, not finding the Ionians at Sardis, purfued them as far as Epbefus, where they came to an Engagement, and put the Grecians to flight, killing a great Number of them, and, amongst many others of good Note, one Enalcides, General of the Eretrians, celebrated by Simonides in his Verses (c). After this Defeat, the Athenians could by no means be prevail'd upon to make a second Trial of their Fortune on that side the Sea.

⁽c) Herodos, 1. 5. 6. 102,

The Ionians, notwithstanding they were deferted by the Athenians, proceeded with very good Success; and, entring the Hellespont, took Byzantium, and many other Places of Importance, and were join'd by the greatest part of Caria; for Caunus, which before refus'd to join them, upon the News of the burning of Sardis, voluntarily came in to them. The Cyprians likewise now revolted, and join'd with the other Rebels, only Amathus continued firm to the King, Onefilus, Brother to Gorgus King of Salamis, had made several vain Attempts to perswade his Brother to revolt, and now, watching his Opportunity, whill Gorgus was out of the City, thut the Gates against him; by which means Gorgus was oblig'd to fly to the Persians. Onesilus, having thus made himself Master of Salamis, foon drew the Cyprians into open Rebellion, and belieg'd Amathus, which refus'd to come in to them. Whilft Onefilus lay before Amathus, News was brought to Darius that Sardis was taken and burnt by the Ionians and Athenians, under the Conduct of Aristagoras of Miletus. As for the Ionians he little regarded them, because he knew he could foon reduce them to their Obedience : but he enquir'd who the Athenians were: Being inform'd who they were, he is faid to have call'd for a Bow, and, having thot an Arrow towards the Sky, to have prayed to Jupiter to grant that he might revenge himself on the Athenians; and moreover to have order'd one of his Servants, every time he went to Supper, to bid him Remember the Athenians. After this he fent for Hiftieus, and upbraided him with the Behaviour of his Deputy at Miletus, who had engag'd all Ionia in Rebellion, and brought over the Athenians to their Affiltance, and all this not without his Knowledge, Histieus, with very great Affurance, declar'd himfelf innocent, and promis'd the King, not only to put an end to the Rebellion in Ionia, and deliver Ariftagoras into his Power, but to render the Island Sardinia Tributary to him, if he would give him leave to

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to return into Ionia. Darius, easily believing all he said, dismis'd him with this Command, That, when he had perform'd what he promis'd, he should return to Susa.

Onefilus all this while laid close Siege to Amathus, whither News was brought him, that, Artybius, a Persian, was coming with a numerous Army to its Relief. Whereupon he fent Ambassadours throughout Ionia, to fummon the Rebels to his Affiftance, who immediately came to Cyprus with a considerable Fleet. The Persians in the mean time, passing from Cilicia into Cyprus, march'd to Salamis: whilft the Phenicians, who join'd them with their Fleet, cruis'd round the Promontory, which is call'd the Keys of Cyprus. Both Parties, being very strongly provided both by Sea and Land, came to an Engagement with their Fleet and Land-Forces, wherein the Ionians, who engag'd the Phænicians by Sea, obtain'd the Advantage, the Samians, having behav'd themselves, In this Action, with greatest Bravery. The Cyprians had like to have gain'd as great an Advantage by Land, as the Ionians had done by Sea, Onefilus having kill'd Artybius, the Persian General, when Stefanor Tyrant of Curium, making a Retreat with his own Men, who made a confiderable part of the Grecian Army, the Salaminians foon follow'd their Example; by which means Onefilus, with the rest of his Forces, was foon put to flight, himself and Aristocyprus, Tyrant of Soli, being kill'd in the Pursuit, the Persians obtain'd a compleat Victory. The Ionians and their Confederates, as foon as they heard that Onefilus was defeated, and that all the Cities in the Island were befieg'd, except Salamis, which the Inhabitants had already furrender'd to Gorgus their King, return'd into Ionia. Of all the Cities of Cyprus, which the Persians belieg'd, Soli held out longest; but in the fifth Month, the Perfians, having undermin'd the Walls, became Masters of the Town. Thus Cyprus, after it had enjoy'd its Liberty one Year, was again

re-

reduc'd under the Perfian Yoke (d). The other Persian Generals Daurises, Hymnes and Otanes, who had marry'd Darius's Daughters, after they had pursued the Ionians, who burnt Sardis, and driven them to their Ships, parted the revolted Cities, which each of them should affault. The two former reduc'd many Towns upon the Hellespont and Propontis, whilit Otanes, by the Affistance of Artaphernes, recover'd Clazomenæ in Ionia, and Cumæ in Æolia, upon which Ariftagoras was so dishearten'd, that he thought he had no Hopes of Safety left but by Flight. Hecateus, the Historian, who had formerly disswaded him from the Rebellion, now advis'd him to build a Fort in the Island Lerus, till he found an Opportunity of returning to Miletus, but he being bent for Myrcinus, lately built by Histians, foon after departed with as many Volunteers as would follow him, leaving the Government of Miletus to one Pythagoras. Being arriv'd in Thrace, with much Difficulty obtain'd the Country about Myrcinus, but befieging the Town, himself and all his Forces were cut off by the Thracians (e).

About the same time Histiaus arriv'd from Susa at Sardis: where, finding himself discover'd by Artaphernes, he made his Escape by Night to the Island Chios; the Inhabitants, thinking that he was sent by the King, immediately imprison'd him, but upon better Information he was set at Liberty. From hence he sent Letters to some Persians lying at Sardis, who had a Hand in the Rebellion, solliciting them to rise up in Arms, but, Artaphernes having timely Notice of it, Hermippus, Histiaus's Messenger, delivering the Letters to Artaphernes instead of the Persians, to whom they were sent, prevented an Insurrection, by putting them all to death. This Enterprize sailing, he perswaded the Chians to convey him to Miletus; but the Milesians being glad that

⁽d) Herodot, l. 5. c. 116. (e) Herodot, l. 5. c. 126.

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they had recover'd their Liberty, by Aristagoras's abandoning the Government, refus'd to receive him; whereupon, endeavouring to force his way into the City by Night, he was wounded in the Thigh, and return'd from thence to Chios. Not being able with all his Entreaties to raise any Fleet here, he went to Mytelene, in the Island Lesbos, where he was furnish'd with eight Ships, with these he sail'd to Byzantium, and intercepted all the Ionian Ships coming

from Pontus, which refus'd to join him (f).

The Persian Generals, having much weaken'd the Power of the Carians, and subdued all the Ionians upon the Hellespont, were now ready to attack Miletus both by Sea and Land. The Ionian Deputies being affembled in Panionium, it was resolv'd that no Land Forces should be levy'd, but that a strong Fleet should be furnish'd out, and that they should expect the Enemy before the Walls of the City. They drew up in the Line of Battle near Leda, a little Island lying over-against Miletus: Their Fleet, which was compos'd of the Milesians themselves, the Inhabitants of Priene, Mysius, Teos, Chios, Erythraa, Phocea, Lesbos, and Samos confilted of 353 trireme Galleys; the Persian made up of Phanicians, Cyprians, Agyptians, and Cilicians, of 600. Though the Perfian Fleet almost doubled the other in Number of Ships. yet the Valour and Experience of the Ionians forc'd them to use all the Methods they could think of; they fent for the feveral Tyrants of the revolted Cities, whom Ariflagoras had depos'd at the beginning of the Rebellion, and desir'd, that every one would try to draw off his own Subjects. Whillt they were using their Endeavours to effect this, Dionystus of Phocas, and Admiral of the whole Ionian Fleet, by continual Exercise prepar'd his Men for the Fight; but they being unaccustom'd to such severe Discipline, in seven Days grew weary of it, and

⁽f) Herodos, 1. 6. c. 5. 4 (a)

landing in the Island, could by no means be perswaded to go on board again. The Samians, doubting what might be the Refult of this Retreat, thought it their wifest course to hearken to the Overtures made from the Persians by Aaces, the Son of Syloson, and their Tyrant 'till he had been depos'd by Ariftagoras; he advis'd them, by a timely Submission, to fave their Possessions and Estates, rather than expose themselves to the Anger of the Persian, who, though he should be beaten at present, was able to equip another Fleet five times as big, fo that they would fee no end of their Danger and Calamity: wherefore their Admirals took Occasion, from this Disorder amongst the Ionians, when the Phanicians were ready to engage, to hoift up their Sail and be gone; the Lesbians and great part of the Ionians foon follow'd their Examples, only the Chians stood the Fight, in which, taking many of the Enemy's Ships, with the Loss of more of their own, they were at length forc'd to give way, and fly to Land: Some of them, running their Galleys on Ground at Mycale, march'd in the Night to Ephesus, where the Women were celebrating the Thesmophoria, and the Inhabitants, taking them for Robbers, made a Sally upon them, and kill'd a great Number of them. Diony fins thinking his own Country would be plunder'd with the rest, sail'd for Phanicia, but by the way having enrich'd himself with the Plunder of some Ships of Burden very richly laden, he fail'd to Sicily. The Persians, having thus dispers'd the Ionian Fleet, affaulted Miletus both by Sea and Land, and, having undermin'd the Walls, took the Town, put the Men to the Sword, made their Wives and Chil- Olymp. dren Slaves, and plunder'd their Goods, and at length 71. i. utterly destroy'd it in the fixth Year after the Re- A. M. bellion first broke out. Some of the Inhabitants who 3508. escap'd the Slaughter, being carry'd Prisoners of. War to Susa, Darius gave them their Pardon, and planted them in the City Ampe, fituated upon the River

River Tigris, where it falls into the Red-Sea. As for their Territories, the Persians themselves took Possession of the campaign Country, and gave the mountainous Parts to the Carians of Pedasus. The Destruction of Miletus was lamented by none of the Grecians so much as by the Athenians. The Samians, who by no means approv'd of their Leaders deferting their Confederates, with what they had left, chose rather to plant themselves in some other Country, than continue in their own City in Subjection to Eaces their Tyrant, whom the Persians were now restoring to his Government. From Samos therefore, together with some of the Milesians who escap'd the general Slaughter of their Fellow-Citizens, they fail'd to Sicily, where by the Affiltance of Anaxileus, Tyrant of Rhegium, they took the City Zanele, and planted themselves in it. Samos being thus abandon'd by the Inhabitants, the Phanicians, at the Command of the Persians, brought back Aaces: this was the only one of the Ionian Cities, which revolted from the King, that escap'd being burnt and plunder'd. The Persians after this made themselves Masters of Caria, all the Cities either furrendring to them or being taken by Force (g).

Histiaus lay all this while upon the Coasts of Byzantium, intercepting the Ionian Ships of Burden. News being brought to him that Miletus was taken, he left Bisaltes the Son of Apollophanes in the Hellespont, himself with his Lesbian Forces sail'd to Chios, which, being very much weaken'd, by the late Defeat in the Engagement with the Phanicians, he eafily fubdued. From hence he fail'd with fome Ionian and Lolian Recruits, to make an Attempt upon the Island Thasus, where News being brought to him that the Phanicians were gone from Miletus into the other Parts of Ionia, he left Thasus and fail'd to Lesbos. Here his Forces began to be dif-

⁽g) Herodot, 1, 6. c, 25.

hearten'd, and he went over into the Province of Atarneus in hopes of gathering Forrage from thence, and the Territories of the Mysians adjoining, where Harpagus the Persian lying with a considerable Force, engag'd with him at Malena, and having cut off the greatest part of his Men, took Histians himself alive; Being carry'd to Sardis, Artaphernes and Harpagus order'd his Body to be nail'd to a Cross, lest Darius, in Remembrance of his past Services, should give him his Pardon, and sent his Head for a Present to the King, who was much concern'd that they did not send Histians alive to him, and order'd his Head

to be decently interr'd.

The Persian Naval Forces, wintering about Miletus, in the following Spring subdued the Islands Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos, and took all the Ionian Cities upon the Continent. They gelt the most beautiful of the Boys, whom they took Prisoners, and sent the Virgins to the King: Thus were the Ionians conquer'd a third time; once by the Lydians, and now a fecond time by the Persians. After this the Fleet loos'd from Ionia, and subdued all the Countries on their left Hand in their Passage to the Hellespont, as they had already done those on their right. The chief of these on the Continent of Europe was the Chersonesus, wherein were many Cities, Perinthas, Selymbria, and Byzantium. The Inhabitants of Byzantium, and Chalcedon opposite to it on the Coast of Asia, before the Arrival of the Phanician Fleet, having abandon'd their own Cities, built Mesambria upon the Euxin Sea. The Phanicians, having burnt these Cities, went to Praconesus and Artace, and after they had fet these on Fire return'd to the Chersonesus, in order to destroy those Cities, which escap'd them, in their former Invasion. The Inhabitants of Cyzicus were already subject to the King, having sometime fince render'd themselves to Oebates, the Son of Megabazas Governour of Da-Scylium; for which Reason the Phanicians never approach'd it; but they took all the other Cities in the Cher284 The History of GREECE. Book II.

Chersonesus, except Cardia. Miltiades, Governour of the Chersonesus, who, according to Herodotus, continued here till he heard the Phanician Fleet lay at Tenedos, thinking himself unable to relift, went on board with all his Effects, and loos'd to Cardia with five Galleys, in order to fail to Athens. Being furrounded by the Phanicians, as he was failing through the black Gulf, himself with four of his Ships made his Escape, but the Phænicians took the fifth, commanded by his eldest Son Metiochus. Phanicians, as foon as they knew him to be Miltiades's Son, fent him to Sula, in hopes of gratifying the King hereby, because Miltiades had formerly endeavour'd to perswade the Ionians to break down the Bridge at the Ister, and leave the King and his Army to be cut off by the Scythians. Notwithstanding which, Darius was fo far from treating him like an Enemy, that he presented him with an House, and gave him a Persian Wife, by whom he had several Children. Miltiades making his Escape to Imbros, fail'd from thence to Athens (h). Nothing more was done to the Ionians this Year: only Artaphernes divided their Country into feveral Provinces, and impos'd a certain Tribute, which each of them were oblig'd to pay to the King.

Olym. It was now the 2d Year from the Destruction of 71. 3. Miletus, and the 27th of his Reign, when Darius, A.M. taking all the Commissions from his other Generals, sent Mardonius, the Son of Gobrius, who had lately marry'd his Daughter Artozestra, with a great Power to Sea. Mardonius, coming into Cilicia, sent away all his land Forces towards the Hellespont, and sailing into Ionia dissolv'd all the Tyrannies, and establish'd a Democracy in the Cities. After this he return'd to the Hellespont, where having got together a numerous Army he pass'd the Hellespont into Europe, and gave out that he design'd to make an Attempt

⁽h) Hiroder. 1, 6, c, 42.

upon Athens and Eretria, his Master's principal Quarrel being with those two Cities, although his real Design was to reduce as many of the Grecian Cities as he could. With his Fleet he subdued the Island Thasas, without any Opposition, and with his land Forces all that part of Macedonia, which was not already subject to his Master. His Fleet sail'd from Thalus to Acanthus, and, looling from thence, cruis'd about the Coasts near the Mountain Athos, where a violent Storm arose, which drove the greatest part of the Fleet against the Mountain, and funk 300 Ships, by which means were loft above 20000 Men. Mardonius was with his land Army in Macedonia, where the Brygi, a People of Thrace, falling upon him in the Night, cut off a great part of his Army, and wounded Mardonius himself. However rallying his Forces again, he reduc'd them; but, being much weaken'd by the Loss which he had sultain'd at Sea, and in the Action of the Brygi, he made an inglorious Retreat, and pass'd over with the relt of his Army into Asia. The following Year Darius forc'd the Thasians, who were accus'd by their Neighbours of intending to revolt, to pull down their Walls, and convey all their Ships to Abdera: And, to try what Temper the Grecians were in, he fent throughout Greece, and to all the maritime Towns which were tributary to him, to demand Earth and Water, commanding the latter to build long Ships. and other Vessels to transport Horses. The Athenians and Lacedamonians threw the Ambassadors into 2 Pit, bidding them take Earth and Water from thence to carry to their Master; but many upon the Continent of Greece, and most of the Islanders, out of Fear of the Persians, gave them Earth and Water. of which Number were the Agineta. The Athenians, supposing that they comply'd out of Hatred to them, and in Hopes of fighting against Athens, in Conjunction with the Persians, very highly refented their Proceedings, and fent to Sparta to complain of them,

them, as Traytors to all Greece, and Betrayers of the common Cause. Upon this Cleomenes pass'd over to Agina, with a Delign to apprehend the principal Authors of the Revolt; but upon his Arrival was openly oppos'd by one Crius, who threaten'd him, that, if he laid violent Hands upon a Man of them, he should have Cause to repent it, since what he did (as Demaratus the other King privately by a Letter inform'd him) was not by the common Consent, or any publick Decree of the State, but because he had been fecretly brib'd to it by the Athenians. Whilft Cleomenes was at Egina, Demaratus took this Opportunity to accuse him at Sparta, which exasperated Cleomenes to that degree, that he immediately return'd home, and procured him to be turn'd out of the Government on Pretence of his Illegitimacy. The Grounds of his Story was this; Arifton, the Father of Demaratus, having no Children by two Wives, divorc'd them to fatisfy the Defires of the People, who impatiently wish'd for some Male-Issue from him, and marry'd a third, which already was the Wife of his Friend Agetus, whom by a Stratagem he oblig'd to refign her to him (the being the most beautiful Woman, except Helena, that ever was in Greece) a thing permitted by the Laws of Dycurgus. It happen'd that when feven Months after his Marriage were expir'd, whilft he was fitting with the Ephori, one of his Servants brought him the News that he had a Son born, at which being very much furpriz'd, his Wife not having gone her full time, he fwore that it was not his. The Ephori at that time took no great notice of what he faid, and he, afterwards repenting of his Oath, brought up the Child as his own, and, because he had been so much defir d by the People, gave him the Name of Demaratus. After his Father's Death Demaratus succeeded to the Kingdom, and though he was a Man of great Worth, being the first King of Sparta, who was known to have obtain'd a Crown in the Olympick Games, yet his Pather's Oath

Oath was now objected against him by his Collegue Cleomenes, who privately agreed with one Leotychides, the Son of Menaris, of the same Family with Demaratus, whom he promis'd to place on the Throne, in the room of Demaratus, upon Condition that he would go over with him to Agina. Leotychides, who was not only a Competitor for his Place, but had also a personal Quarrel with Demaratus about a Wife, of whom Demaratus had disappointed him by marrying her himself, did not fail to represent the Matter in its most aggravating Circumstances, which bred fuch a Faction and Tumult in the State, that the Spartans sent to Delphi, to enquire whether Demaratus was really the Son of Ariston, or not. Cleomenes having corrupted the Priestess, it was given against Demaratus, who was hereupon remov'd from the Kingdom, and was immediately succeeded by his Kinsman Leotychides. This hard Usage did not in the least impair the Love and Affection which Demaratus bore to his Country, who, notwithstanding all the Difgrace put upon him, still continued at home, and refus'd not to bear many inferiour Offices, till Leotychides, deriding, and infulting over him, whilst he was overlooking the Boys at their wonted Exercises, ask'd him how he lik'd That after the Office of a King; to which Demaratus answer'd, That as for himself he had tried both, but That he had not: and that that Question should be the Cause of great Happiness or Misery to the Laced emonian Commonwealth; and then, going home with his Head cover'd, he facrific'd to Jupiter, and fending for his Mother he conjur'd her to tell him the Truth of the whole Matter. Being affur'd from her of his Legitimacy, he left the City, on prevence of going to Delphi, but made the best of his way to Elis, and from thence to the Island Zacynthus, whither he was pursued by the Spartans, but, the Inhabitants refusing to deliver him to his Countrymen, he made his Escape to Persia, where he was very honourably receiv'd by Darrus, who who fettled a confiderable Estate upon him, and maintain'd him a very handsom Equipage: and his Posterity is reported to have continued there for

many Generations (i).

Cleomenes's Design against Demaratus having succeeded according to his expectation, He with his new Collegue made another Voyage to Agina, being highly incens'd at the Difgrace which he had receiv'd the last time he was there. Upon the Arrival of both Kings, the Eginetæ thought all Resistance vain; Cleomenes and his Collegue apprehending 10 of the principal Authors of the revolt, and amongst the rest Crius the Son of Polycritus, and Casambus, the Son of Aristocrates, the Heads of the Faction, carry'd them into Attica, where they left them in the Hands of some of the most implacable Enemies of Agina. Not long after this Cleomenes's Villany against Demaratus being come to light, for fear he should be call'd to an account for what he had done, he first fled into Theffaly, and from thence return'd into Arcadia, where he endeavour'd to raise an Insurrection against Sparta, by obliging the Arcadians upon their Oaths to follow him, where-ever he should lead them. The Lacedæmonians hearing this, for fear the State should be endanger'd by his Practices abroad, recall'd him home, and reftor'd him to the Kingdom: but he, being already diforder'd in his head, upon his return home fell into a Phrenzy, and as he met any one in the City he struck him on the Face with his Scepter. Upon this his Friends bound him with wooden Fetters; in this Condition, whilst only his Keeper and himself were together, partly by Intreaties and partly by Threats he prevail'd upon him to give him a Sword, with which beginning at the Calf of his Leg, he cut upwards to his Thighs, and ripping up his Belly dy'd, leaving no Issue behind him. The miserable and unfortunate End of Cleomenes astonish'd all Greece, and

⁽i) Confer Herodot. 1. 6. c. 70. cum Pausan, in Laconicis.

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'twas generally lookt upon as a Judgment upon him for his past Villanies: His Countrymen attributed it to the Corruption of the Pythia, and the Injustice done to Demaratus; the Athenians to his Invasion of Eleusis, and destroying the Temple of their Gods; the Argivi to his Baseness and Treachery in killing some of their Countrymen, who escap'd out of a Battle fought with him, after he had got them out of the Temple of Argos, and had burn'd the Grove which he had taken.

Upon the News of Cleomenes's Death the Æginetæ fent and complain'd of Leotychides for the Injury which he and Cleomenes had done them in leaving Ten of their Principal Men to be kept as Hostages at Athens, and demanded him to be furrender'd in their stead. But, this being oppos'd by Theasides, the Son of Leoprepes, a Man of good Credit at Sparta, who thought it a great Indignity offer'd to them, that a King of Sparta should be carry'd away Prisoner, and by the consent of his own Subjects, it was at length agreed on both sides, that he should go with them to Athens to fee their Hostages set at liberty. The Athenians, upon Leotychides's demanding the Prisoners, refus'd to deliver them without the Authority of two Kings, fince both of them committed them to their Custody; so that Leotychides, having made a Journey to no purpose, was dismis'd, and return'd home (k).

The Agineta, who were of old the irreconcileable Enemies of Athens, being now much more incens'd against them for detaining their Hostages, were refolv'd to be reveng'd on them. At that time it happen'd, that at Sunium, the utmost Promontory of Attica, there was a Galley, which, according to the Custom observ'd every Year from the time of Theseus, was going to Delos, on board of which were the Principal Men of Athens: the Aginetae took the

⁽ k) Herodot, 1. 6. c. 86.

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Galley, bound the Men, and carry'd them away Prisoners. The Athenians were so enrag'd at this, that they resolv'd Ægina should pay dear for her Prisoners, and it so fell out that they had a fair opportunity of revenging themselves; for there was one Nicodromus, a Man of good note in Agina, who, having refented something from the Agineta, offer'd to betray the Island to the Athenians, provided they would be ready at a fixt Day to affilt him: To this purpose he seiz'd upon that, which they call'd the old City; but, the Athenians, not being able to fit out a Fleet equal to that of the Agineta within the time, at last with 70 Sail came a Day after the time appointed, when Nicodromus was forc'd to take Ship, and with some of his Accomplices fled from Agina, whom the Athenians afterwards plac'd at Sunium: However the Agineta and the Athenians came to a Battle, in which the latter obtain'd the Victory; this oblig'd them to betake themselves for assistance to their old Friends the Argivi, who privately fent them a supply of 1000 Volunteers, most of which fell in Ægina by the Hands of the Athenians. netæ afterwards, falling upon the Athenians, at a time when they were in some Disorder, gave them a Defeat and took four of their Ships, but what was the Issue of this War is uncertain; Herodotus affirms, that it gave occasion to the Safety of all Greece; for by this means the Athenians apply'd themselves so heartily to Sea Affairs, that, when Xerxes came, they were the main Defence and Bulwark of Greece. It is probable enough that this Difference was not compos'd till the Invalion of Greece, when, all private quarrels being laid afide. and facrific'd to that great and common one against Persia, the Agineta, who had held the Dominion of the Sea about 20 Years, until the Invasion of Xerxes, were then forc'd to furrender it to the Athenians.

Whilst the Athenians were engag'd in this War with the Agineta, Darius, being obstinate in his Enter-

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Enterprize against Greece, took this opportunity to transport his Army: The civil Discords and intestine Commotions, which at that time ran very high in Greece, particularly at Sparta, where all things were in Confusion upon Demaratus's being depos'd, made him very confident of Victory and Success; And the vast Preparations, which he made, seem'd to threaten nothing less than the entire Ruin and Destruction of of the whole Nation of the Grecians. His Fleet. which consisted of 600 Men of War, besides other Vessels, transported an Army of 100000 Foot, and 10000 Horse; Mardonius, who had lately lost great part of his Fleet in the Storm at Mount Athos, was turn'd out of his Commission; and in his room Datis, a Persian, was constituted General of all the King's Forces, being attended by Artaphernes, the King's Nephew, and Son to the Viceroy of Lydia: Having pass'd the Hellespont, they made some Attempts upon the Islands call'd Cyclades, which lay between the leffer Asia and Greece; for, having once made themfelves Masters of these, they had nothing to obstruct their passage over the Agean Sea; but, on the contrary, had the convenience of Places to refresh themfelves at in their Voyage, and of good Harbours to put in at upon any fudden danger of a Storm, or Surprize of the Enemy; To this end they first posses'd themselves of Samos, and afterwards attempted Naxos, which the Inhabitants immediately abandon'd; as did foon after the People of Delos, of which Island Apollo was a Native; on which account Darius not only forbore plundering it, but, recalling the Inhabitants, gave orders to beautify the Places and Altars of Sacrifice erected to Apollo. Upon Darius's Departure the Island was observ'd to move, a thing often mention'd by the ancient Poets, but not known before in the Memory of Man; this was thought to portend some dire Calamity in that part of the World, and so it prov'd in the event; for Greece, during the three successive Reigns of Darius, T 2

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Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and three Generations after them endur'd more Misfortunes, either from the outward force of the Persian Arms, or from the inward struggles of her own Inhabitants, contending for Sovereignty and Power, than it had done the 20 preceeding Ages (1). The Persians, having recover'd these and other Islands, directed their course for Eretria in Eubæa (for with this Place and Athens, which had jointly affifted the Ionians, and burnt Sardis, was the chief and original Quarrel, which was afterwards by many Circumstances in the Ionian Rebellion extended against the whole Nation of the Grecians) and having landed their Army, they belieg'd the Town very straitly, and in fix Days, partly by Force and partly by the Treason of Euphorbus, the Son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus, the Son of Cyneus, they took, plunder'd and burn'd it to the ground. Thus far the Persians proceeded with fuccels, which made Hippias big with the hopes and expectations of recovering the Government of Athens: The Persian Army, which had now 72. 3. pass'd over from Eubæa into Attica, he conducted to A. M. the Plains of Marathon, as being the most convenient 3514 place for their Cavalry. The Athenians, who were in a great Consternation at the near approaches of fo powerful an Enemy, put themselves in the best order they could to make a Resistance, and with all dispatch'd a Courier to Sparta for Succours. One Phidippides was employ'd in this Negotiation, who, as he pass'd through Arcadia, encounter'd a Phantasm in his way, which he suppos'd to be Pan, who told him, that he might affure the Athenians of Victory, and promis'd him that one of the Gods should be present at the Bat-

tle to affist and defend them against the numerous

a full Moon.

Forces of their Enemies. Phidippides could not obtain any present Relief from the Spartans, who were forbidden by a Law of Lycurgus, to go out upon any Expedition upon the Ninth day of the Month, or till

⁽¹⁾ Herodor. 1. 6. c. 98.

The Athenians, being as it were left to themselves, they having no Affiltance but from Platea, which, in Gratitude for the Protection Athens had formerly given her against Thebes, fent them a Reinforcement of 1000 Men, which made them but compleatly 10000 strong, were notwithstanding fir'd with a wonderful Desire to be in Action. To this end ten General Officers were chosen to command their Army, amongst whom it was hotly debated, . Whether it was more advisable for them to rely upon the Strength of the Town, or to march out, and give the Enemy Battle. Miltiades, who was one of the Generals, press'd them with greater Earnestness than any of the rest to encamp as foon as possibly they could; for by this means the Citizens would be excited to behave themfelves with more Bravery, when they faw how highly their Valour was rely'd 'upon, and the Enemy's Advances would be retarded, when they obferv'd with what an Handful of Men they were refolv'd to fight them: This Advice met with great Opposition, till Callimachus the Polemarch, through the Persualion of Miltiades, appearing for it, it was at length carry'd for a pitcht Battle. Miltiades, by this Counsel, became more considerable than the rest of his Collegues, and those of them, who voted for fighting the Enemy, refign'd every one his Day of Command to Miltiades, who, notwithstanding, declin d the Battle, till he commanded in his own Turn : The Athenians, marching with their Forces out of the City, the Day after encamp'd at the Foot of an Hill, where, to supply the want of Numbers, they made use of a new Stratagem; for they block'd up the Passages with Trees in several Places, so that they were not only shelter'd by the Tops of the Mountains, but the Trees laid in the way hinder'd the Enemy's Horse from breaking in upon them. The Armies being now in view, and within a Mile of each other, the Athenians divided themselves into three Bodies; Callimachus commanded the right Wing, T 3

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the Place assign'd by the Athenian Laws to the Polemarch; Militades brought up the Left, which con-

march; Militades brought up the Left, which confifted of the Plateans and the main Body of the Army; and, after they had facrific'd, and pay'd their Vows and other religious Services to their Gods, they prepar'd to give the Enemy Battle. The Perfians, when they perceiv'd the Atbenians advancing towards them with so small a Number, provided neither with Cavalry, nor Archers, thought them distracted, and therefore rather to be despis'd, than fought with (so invincible did they esteem their own vast Numbers) Datis, the Persian General, though he faw the Athenians had manifestly the Advantage of the Ground, yet relying upon the vast Odds he had in Number, and confidering also that the Spartan Auxiliaries were not yet arriv'd, refolv'd to fight them before they came up. After the Battle began the Victory seem'd to be very doubtful, sometimes the Valour of the Grecians, at other the Number of the Persians prevailing. At length the main Body of the Athenian Army, which was not so deeply lin'd, as the two Wings, was forc'd to give ground, being overpower'd by the Persian Numbers; but the Athenians and Plateans in the left and right Wing put the Barbarians to flight in great Confusion, and, rallying their Forces, they charg'd the Enemy's Troops, which prevail'd on the other fide of the Battle with to much Fury, that they immediately fled, and were purfued to their Ships with great Slaughter. Nothing certainly was ever more Great and Glorious than this Fight, in which the Grecians, with the Loss of but 192 Men, kill'd, according to Herodotus's Account, about 6300 of the Persian Army; As for Justin's Account, which makes 200000 of the Barbarrans flain, which is double the Number of their whole Army, except the Cavalry, if Herodotus be true, it has not the Appearance or Possibility of Truth: Thus did Athens, only with the Assistance of 1000 Plateans, withstand and repel the Force of

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the Persian Empire, for the Spartans, who did not fet forward till after the full Moon, came not up to them till after the Battle. On the Persian side, amongst many others, fell Hippias, the first Promoter of this Enterprise, but Suidas says that he escap'd, and dy'd very miserably in the Island Lemnos. The Officers of chief Note, who were kill'd on the Athenian fide, were Callimachus the Polemarch, who behav'd himself with great Bravery, Stefilaus the Son of Thrasylus, and Cynagirus the Son of Eupho. rion, two Captains; the latter of which fignaliz'd himself very Gloriously; for, in the Pursuit of the Enemy to the Shore, as they were going on board, he laid hold of one of their Ships to prevent it from putting off the Shore, and, having his Right-Hand cut off, he held it with his Left, till he had lost that too, after which he fasten'd upon it with his Teeth, and thus dy'd upon the Shore. The Athenians took feven Ships, and the Barbarians with the rest fail'd to Eretria, from whence they fail'd to the Promontory Sunium with a Design to take Athens before the Athenian Forces return'd home: But the Athenians made all the haste they could, and came to the City before the Persians, who, after they had taken the Port Phalerus, making a short Stay there to avoid a Storm, hoisted Sail for Asia. The Alemaonida were suspected of having carry'd on some secret Practices with the Persians; but, as Herodotus thinks, without any just grounds, by reason of that utter Aversion they had always shewn to the Tyranny of the Pisistratide, because they had actually done more towards the Diffolution of it by corrupting the Pythia, and thereby bringing down the Lacedamonians, than Harmodius and Aristogiton, who, by the Murder of his Brother Hipparchus, exasperated Hippias, and thereby render'd the Tyranny more intolerable (m).

Themistocles, who was then very young, in the late Battle gave very early Hopes of his future

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⁽m) Herodot, 1, 6, c. 123. T 4

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Greatness; but the Honour of the Victory was almost entirely due to Miltiades, who first persuaded the Athenians to try their Fortune in a pitch'd Battle, and behav'd himself answerably to the Advice which he gave. By the Reward which Miltiades had for fo great an Action we may perceive how the same Humour runs through all Bodies Politick: For, as the Marks of Honour, which the Romans formerly fix'd upon their bravest Men, were very rare and inconfiderable, and for that reason the more honourable. but afterwards grew common and extravagant; fo we find it was anciently among the Athenians, for Miltiades, to whom all Greece, as well as Athens ow'd her Safety, had only this Honour done him, That when the Battle of Marathon was painted in the Gallery Pæcile, he was drawn the first of all the ten Commanders, encouraging his Souldiers and charging the Enemy. And yet the same People, having afterwards enlarg'd their Territories, and degenerated from the Vertue of their Ancestors, and being corrupted with the Largeffes and Bribery of their Magistrates, decreed no less than 300 Statues in Honour of Demetrius Phalereus (n).



The End of the Second Book.

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History of GREECE.

BOOK III.

From the Battle of Marathon to the Peloponnesian War; containing the Space of about 60 Years.

ILTIADES, by his late Victory at Marathon, having very much rais'd his Reputation amongst his Fellow-citizens, obtain'd of the Athenians a Fleet confifting of 70 Sail. He conceal'd, as Herodotus affirms, his Enterprise from the Athenians, and only promis'd them in general, that he would greatly enrich the City thereby (a). Another Account fays, that the Athenians fent him with this Fleet to reduce the Islands, which assisted the Persians (b). Amongst the rest was the Island Paros, the Inhabitants whereof attended the Persians with one Galley, and fought against the Athenians in the Plains of Marathon. Miltiades, to be reveng'd on them for this, and having likewife a personal Quarrel against them, upon the account of one Lylagoras of Paros, who accus'd him to Hydarnes a Persian, invested their City, and cut off all Communication from them, demanding an 100 Talents,

⁽a) Heredet. l. 6. c. 132. (b) Corn. Nep. in Miltiade.

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stroy them. The Besieg'd, lightly regarding his Threats, fortified their City, and by Night labour'd fo hard at their Works, that they made their Wall twice as strong as it was before. Miltiades, after he had laid close Siege to the City about 26 Days, leaping off from a Wall broke his Thigh, and was forc'd to return home; Upon his Arrival at Athens, Xanthippus, who had always been his Rival in the State, impeach'd him; Miltiades, being at that time laid up of his broken Thigh, was not able to appear in his own Defence; however, his Friends against this fingle Miscarriage objected all his former Success in reducing the Island Lemnos, and especially the late glorious Battle of Marathon: The People therefore would not pronounce his Crime Capital, but fin'd him fifty Talents, the Sum that was expended in equipping the Fleet, which he Commanded at Paros. Miltiades, being unable to pay the Sum, was calt into Prison, where he had not laid long, before his Thigh mortified, and died very miserably, leaving behind him a Son and a Daughter, Cimon and Elpinice. So foon were all the Services Miltiades had done for them forgotten by his ungrateful Country-men! who suffer'd this Great Man to lie neglected in a Gaol, like a common Malefactor, only upon the bare Accufation of a sworn Enemy to all his Glory, without the least Colour of Proof. Therefore, however his ill Success at Paros might be pretended, the real Cause of his Profecution feem'd to have deeper Root; for the Athenians, who still retain'd fresh in their Memories the Tyranny of the Pifistratide, under which they had not long before labour'd, were extremely apprehensive of the growing Power of any Fellowcitizen: and they imagin'd that Miltiades, who had born so great Offices and Commands, would hardly be content to move in a more narrow and private Sphere (the Force of meer Custom inclining Men, who have been us'd to Good to afpire after Power

and Sovereignty) Wherefore the People thought it more secure to take him out of the way, though undeservedly, than to live under continual Apprehen-

fions of Danger from fo Great a Man.

Thus was Miltiades facrific'd to the Humour and Jealoufy of the inconstant Multitude, and the Rage of a prevailing Faction. He was descended from one of the best and most ancient Families in Athens, his Father Cimon, who, in the Tyranny of Pifistratus, left the City, having thrice obtain'd a Crown in the Olympick Games (his Grandfather Miltiades being the Founder of an Athenian Colony in the Thracian Chersonesus) And, although Miltiades, through the whole Course of his Life, seem'd to be a Man of too great Modesty to entertain the least Thoughts of any Design upon the People's Liberty, yet 'tis not to be wonder'd that he should be suspected of it, when to be Vertuous was thought highly Criminal, and to deserve well of the Common-wealth was the ready way to incur the Displeasure of it; when there never wanted a Party to traduce and vilify the the best Actions of the best Men, and, though never fo much intended for the Service of their Country, to represent them as proceeding from Ambition, and the Hopes of raising themselves, and enflaving the Citizens: Whilst he was Governour of the Thracian Chersonesus, though he acted as King amongst them, and had the Title of Tyrant, a Name given to those, who held the supreme Government during Life, ina free Common-wealth; yet he govern'd according to the Laws of the Place, and ow'd not his Power to much to his Conquest and the Absoluteness of his Command, as to the Justice of his Actions and the good Will of his Subjects, which he always maintain'd by his great Prudence and Moderation: He was so exceedingly Affable, that the meanest of his Subjects had free and easy Access to him; In the height of his Prosperity he always bore a particular Love to his native City, and was ready to do any Acts

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Acts of Kindness to the Athenians; by which means he establish'd his Authority, not only in the Hearts and Affections of the Athenians, who gave him the Government of the Chersonesus, but of those too over whom he was to exercise it. He was a Friend to the whole Nation of the Greeks, as sufficiently appears by his Advice of demolishing the Bridge, and abandoning Darius; and, though the Majority of the Commanders thought not fit to concur with him, yet the Proposal was generous in him, in that he consulted the Liberty of all Greece, rather than his own private Interest; And, if his Advice had been taken, it might, in all Probability, have prevented those Calamities which afterwards befel Greece, but it would have robb'd him of the Glory of the famous Battle of Marathon, wherein he shew'd himself the greatest Souldier of the Age, and prepar'd the way to the future Greatness of the Athenian Commonwealth.

The Grecians now enjoy'd some Repose and Respite from the Persian Arms, only the War between Athens and Agina was still depending, till the common Danger made them unite for their own Defence and Security: For Darius, who was more concern'd how to retrieve his Honour, than for the Loss which he had fultain'd in Greece, gave Orders for new Levies of Men, and other necessary Preparations, twice as great as the former, as if his late Enterprise had miscarry'd rather for want of Numbers, than of true Courage and Conduct. Whilst his Thoughts were thus employ'd, the Egyptians, formerly subdued by his Predecessor Cambyles, revolted, which very much distracted his Resolution of invading Greece: Another great Obstruction to his Measures was the Dissention amongst his Sons, who contended for the Kingdom; It was the Cultom of the Persian Kings to nominate their Successor before they undertook any Expedition: Now Darius, having three Sons, before he was King, by Gobryas's Daughter,

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Daughter, and four more by Atossa the Daughter of Cyrus, and Relict of his Predecessor Cambyses; Artobazanes, otherwise call'd Artemenes or Ariamnes, the Eldest by the first Wise, claim'd the Kingdom by Vertue of his Birth-right, but, he being born, whilst Darius was a private Man, Xerxes, the eldest, by his second Wise Atossa, who was born after he was King, was adjudg'd Heir to the Crown by their Uncle

Artaphernes, to whom the two Candidates referr'd Olymp. the Decision of their Dispute. Darius, having de-73. 4. clar'd Xerxes his Successor, died, in the midst of all his A. M. great Designs, after he had reign'd 36 Years. So that 3519.

Xerxes succeeded to a Crown, engag'd in two dangerous Wars, one against Egypt, the other against Greece; the former was so soon finish'd, that we have no other account of it, than that he impos'd harder Conditions upon them, than what they refus'd to fubmit to in his Father's Reign, and constituted his Brother Achamenes Governour of Egypt. But the Expedition against Greece was of greater Consequence: and in their Consultation about the Prosecution of this War the Persian Nobles were divided in their Opinions. Mardonius, who had formerly commanded in Thrace and Macedon under Darius, having receiv'd private Encouragement from the Alenada, who were the Kings of Theffaly, press'd the King to undertake the War, and the Pisistratide, who continu'd at the Persian Court, were not wanting to promote this Design, imposing upon the King with the vain and deluding Oracles of one Onomacritus. who industriously conceal'd whatsoever portended any Danger to the Persians, and utter'd nothing but Victory and Success (c). But Artabanus, Brother to Darius, and Uncle to Xerxes, a Man of great Wisdom and Experience, us'd his utmost Endeavours to disfuade the King from his Enterprise against Greece, laying before him the shameful and lamentable Suc.

⁽c) Herodot. 1. 7. c. 6.

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cefs of two Expeditions, which Darius had made contrary to his Advice; one in Person against the Scythians, the other by his Generals against Greece; in both which, he had not only lost very numerous Forces, but, what was much dearer, his Honour and Reputation. Xerxes, being fully bent upon the Conquest of Greece, was very much incens'd at his Uncle's Advice, but, being afterwards affrighted with Visions by Night, he continued for some time very doubtful and uncertain what Course to take: At length he advis'd again with his Uncle, who, being likewise terrify'd by a Vision, or out of Fear of incurring the King's Displeasure, chang'd his former Opinion, and advis'd the King to carry on the War. Four Years were spent in raising an Army to invade Greece; which, being compos'd of all Nations subject to the Persian Empire, consisted of 1700000 Foot, and 80000 Horse, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beafts of Carriage. The Commanders of the feveral Nations were the Princes of the Blood of Persia, either by Birth, or Marriage into the Royal Family; for to those were all Commands of this Nature given, except to some few People, who had Leaders of their own Nations. The Command in chief of the whole Army was committed to Mardonius, to whom were join'd some others of Xerxes's nearest Relations, as Lieutenant Generals of all the Forces, except 10000 felect Persians, call'd the Immortal Regiment, because, if any one of the whole Number dy'd or was kill'd, his Place was prefently fill'd up by another; the Command of this was given to Hydarnes; the 80000 Horse were led by the Sons of Datis, General of Darius's Army in the last War: Besides these Preparations by Land, he equipp'd a Navy of 2207 Sail, confisting of Phanicians, Cyprians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Aolians, and the Hellespontines, commanded by Artabignes and Achamenes, Brothers to Xerxes, and other Princes of Persia; the transport Ships and other Vessels amounted

to 3000. Artemisia, the Daughter of Lygdamis, Queen of Halicarnassus and the Islands adjoining, fitted out five Galleys, and Commanded them her self, being the first in all the Fleet, except those of Zidon,

in which Xerxes himself was embark'd (d).

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When these prodigious Forces were throughly furnish'd, they look'd as if all the Inhabitants of the East, assembl'd together, had been going to people another Continent, rather than an Army rais'd to take one fingle City; for against Athens was the main Quarrel, and all these mighty Preparations chiefly design'd. All things being in a readiness. the whole Army was order'd to march to Sardis, where they made their Rendezvous. All his land Forces met at Critala, with which having pass'd the River Halys, he came to Celana, a City of Phrygia, where one Pythius a Lydian entertain'd him and his whole Army, and presented Xerxes himself with 2000 Talents of Silver, and 4000000 in Gold, wanting 7000 of the Persian Darici. The King, being overcome with the extraordinary Generolity of Py. thius, not only refus'd his Treasure, but order'd that 7000 Darici should be given him, which would make up his four Millions in Gold. From Celana he march'd to Sardis, where he winter'd, and from thence fent into Greece to demand Earth and Water. By this time his Navy was arriv'd at the Chersonesus, and, to avoid the Danger which Mardonius had run by failing upon the Coast of Athos, he order'd a Passage to be cut behind the Mountain, which made it an entire Island, which was a Work of more Ostentation than real Service; for the Channel was but just wide enough for two Ships to fail a-breast, and through this pass'd his whole Navy. After this he gave Orders, that a Bridge should be made over the Helle-Spont, between Sestus and Abydus, which was no sooner finish'd than it was torn in pieces in one

⁽d) Herodot, 1. 7. a cap. 82 ad cap. 100.

Night by a violent Storm; whereat Xerxes was fo enrag'd, that he commanded 300 Stripes to be given to the Sea, and a Pair of Fetters to be cast into it in token of Servitude: he order'd the Workmen, who made the Bridge, to be kill'd, and 674 Ships to be link'd together instead of a Bridge, which by the Art and Industry of the Phanicians were so firmly Anchor'd on both sides, that they withstood the Force of both Winds blowing from the Euxin and Agean Seas.

In the beginning of Spring Xerxes mov'd from Sardis with his whole Army, and came to Abydus, when on a fudden the Day was fo clouded that it was dark as Night; this, being no true Eclipse, was look'd upon as a very bad Omen, and Pythius, who had formerly entertain'd him with fo much Civility, was so affrighted at it, that he fent to the King to defire him, that the Eldest of his five Sons, who were in his Army, might be excus'd from ferving to be the comfort of his old Age; at which Xerxes was fo enrag'd, that he commanded the young Man to be kill'd, and his Body to be cut into two parts, one of them to be laid on the Right-hand, and the other on the Left of the high Way, by which the Army was to march. The Bridge being finisht, and the Army having march'd to the Sea-side, Xerxes had a mind to take a view of all his Forces affembled in the Plains of Abydus, before they pass'd over; To this end going up to an Ascent, from whence he could take a full Prospect of them all together, a mock Seafight was perform'd to please the Vanity of the fond Prince, who, upon the fight of fo many Thousands by Land, and such a prodigious Fleet riding in Triumph by Sea, was transported to an excess of Joy, which was foon overcast by as sudden a turn of Sorrow and Despair, which forc'd him to break out into Tears at the melancholy thought, That in 100 Years not one of that prodigious Multitude would be alive. His Uncle Artabanus, who was then with him, upon this took

scene of the Vanity and Miseries of human Life, and being again importun'd to tell his opinion concerning this Expedition, after he had done it with the same faithfulness and freedom as he had formerly us'd, he was sent back to Susa, to govern as Deputy during

the absence of the King (e).

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Xerxes, after he had paid his folemn Devotions to the Sun, the Persian Deity, by one Bridge, bending towards the Euxine, pass'd over his Horse and Foot, and by another inclining towards the Agean Sea, his Slaves and Beafts were transported. The Fleet fail'd Westward to the Promontory of Sarpedon, and the land Forces, marching through the Thracian Chersonesus to Agora, from thence bore down towards the Bay of Melana, where they drank Dry a River of that Name, as they had before done Scamander, and feveral others in Asia. From hence marching still Westward, they at length came to Doriscus, a spacious plain in Thrace, water'd with the great River Hebrus, where Xerxes encamp'd, and muster'd his whole Army both by Sea and Land. Herodotus by assigning 200 Men to every Ship, together with those who were in the other Vessels, conjectures that 517610 Men man'd the whole Fleet; fo that according to this muster the Land and Sea Forces, being put together with the 20000 Arabians who drove the Camels, and the Libyans Charioteers, amount to 2317610, besides Slaves and others who follow'd the Camp. Notwithstanding all this number, he compel'd all the Nations which lay in his passage from Doriscus, towards Greece to march along with him, fo that hereby came an accession of 120 Ships to his Fleet, to which allowing 200 Men apiece, the number will amount to 2400; and to his Land Army another of 300000 according to Herodotus (tho Diodorus thinks fomething less than 200000) and so the whole num-

⁽e) Herodot, 1.7. cap. 53.

ber of his Asian and European Souldiers amounts to 2641610; and yet he thinks the number of Slaves and Attendants to have rather exceeded this, so that if it only be doubled, the number of those who came by Land to Thermopylæ, and by Sea to Sepias amounted to 5283220. And for the number of Women that bak'd Meat, and of Concubines, Eunuchs, Carriage Beasts, Waggons, and Indian Dogs, it was infinite; so that 'tis not so much to be wonder'd that Rivers should be exhausted dry by so vast a multitude, as that no plague rag'd amongst them, or that any order could be preserv'd, amongst, or sufficient provisions found for them.

The Grecians, who all this while had notice of all the Motions and Designs of the Persians, from Demaratus the Spartan Exile, were according to their feveral interests variously affected. The Thebans, and the rest of the Baotians, except the Inhabitants of Thespia and Platea, and many of the Thesalians through the perswasion of the Alenada, and several others out of fear, had underhand fent Earth and Water as tokens of subjection: many also were in doubt which side to take. The rest, meeting at the Isthmus to consult for their common safety, mutually Iwore to join Force against the Persians, and with united power to defend the Liberty of Greece; at the present to wave all private differences, that they might provide for the publick fecurity, to remit the Monies owing to each other; and to devote to Apollo the tenth Man of all those, who had already without manifest Necessity submitted to the Enemy. The War which had often been made up, and still brake out again between the Athenians and the Egineta, was now compos'd. Athens had for a long time labour'd with intestine Jars, and Commotions, of two powerful Factions, one Headed by Ariftides, the other by Themistocles. These two, being bred up together from their Youth, had always shewn such a mutual Difagreement to each other's Temper, as could

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could never be wholy reconcil'd, the One being quick, bold, crafty, and eafily changeable according to the Juncture of Affairs: The other constant and grave, only intent upon Justice, neither in Jest nor Earnest giving way to Lying, Scurrility or Deceit. On this account he had the Sir-name of Juft, which at first gain'd him the Love and Esteem of the Citizens, but afterwards procur'd him their Envy; For Themistocles, who had the art of infinuating himself into the credulous Multitude, persuaded them, that Aristides. whilft he took upon him to cenfure all things, defign'd to subvert all their Courts of Judicature, and to erect a Tyranny. The People, who were flusht with their late success at Marathon, and had their Eye upon greater Defigns, could not bear any that feem'd too great in the Commonwealth, and therefore flocking into the Market-place they banish'd him by Oftracism, disguising their Envy at his Glory under the specious Pretence of defending their Liberty: when they were come together to give their suffrages, a Country-man gave a Shell to Ariftides, whom he took for one of the common People, and defired him to write Aristides's Name: he ask'd him if he had receiv'd any Injury at his Hands, the Man answer'd, No, but that he was troubled to hear him call'd Just, above the rest of the Citizens. Aristides made him no Answer, but wrote his own Name, and gave it to the Man; when he departed out of the City, with his Hands lifted up to Heaven, he pray'd, that Athens might never have Occasion to think of Aristides (f).

The Athenians, who by reason of their continual War with the Agineta, had encreas'd their Strength at Sea, were farther perswaded by Themistocles to lay out the Money which issued from the Golden Mines of Lauria, and us'd to be divided among the People, upon their Shipping, whereby the Fleet was encreas'd to almost 200 Sail, which afterwards prov'd the main

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⁽f) Confer Plutarch, & Corn. Nep. in Arifide. . . .

The History of GREECE. Book II. 208 Bulwark and Defence of Greece. After this the Grecian Confederates fent into Sicily, Corcyra and Crete, to desire Assistance of the Greek Colonies against the common Enemy; and to Argos, to encourage them to join against him, with the rest of the Consederates. Gelon, who at that time had all Sicily in his Power, and was thought to have more Ships than all the Confederates put together, refus'd to fend any Succours, unless he commanded the whole Fleet: the Corcyreans made great Promises, consessing their own Safety to be included in that of Greece; but refolving to make use of the Success of either Party, they fent fixty Ships, under shew of a Supply to the Confederate Fleet, but gave private Orders to hover about Laconia, that so they might fly to the strongest side. The Cretans, who were very powerful at Sea, put them off, under Pretence of expecting an Answer from the Oracle at Delphi: And the Argivi, out of Hatred to the Lacedemonians, refus'd to come in to them, but upon such Conditions as could not be admitted, which prov'd a great Discouragement to the whole Confederacy. The Athenians and Lacedamonians, against whom this War was chiefly design'd, were resolv'd to make the utmost Resistance. The Thestalians, as foon as Xerxes had pass'd over his Army into Europe, fent to demand Affistance, or else they must be forc'd to submit: The General Council at that time being affembled at the Istbmus, thinking it more adviseable to withstand the Enemy at his first Entrance into Greece, than to defend it afterwards in broken Parts, immediately fent away 10000 Men into Theffaly, under the Conduct of Enenetus a Spartan, and Themistecles, who in Conjunction with the Theffalian Horse, at the River Peneus, flowing between the Streights of Offa and Olympus, might hinder the Passage of the Persians. They continued here not many Days, when Alexander King of Macedon fent to advise them to make a Retreat, for it

would be impossible to withstand the numerous Forces

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of the Persians, which were ready to pour in upon them, or to prevent the Enemy's entring into Greece. there being so many other Passages, through the upper Parts of Macedonia. Whereupon they return'd back to the Isthmus, and the Theffalians being thus forfaken, submitted to the Persians. The Council, upon a fecond Deliberation what was to be done, resolv'd, that the Grecians should possess themselves of the Streights of Thermopylae, which were the only Passage out of Thessaly into Greece, and more easy to be maintain'd by their small Numbers, than any other; wherefore Leonidas, King of Sparta, was fent hither with 6000 Foot. As for the Command by Sea, that was principally committed to the Athemians and the Agineta, and it was refolv'd that the Fleet should sail to the Artemisian Shore, towards the North Part of the Island Eubera, and not far from the Streights (g).

The Grecians, being inform'd of the Enemy's advancing with his whole Army, immediately repair'd to Thermopyla and Artemisium. The Persian Navy loofing from Therma, fent ten of their swiftest Sailers to Sciatbus, where they surpris'd three of the Grecian Ships, which lay to watch the Motion of the Enemy. The Grecian Navy, being alarm'd at the taking of three of their Ships, loos'd from Artemisium, and fail'd back into the Straits between Eubaa and Baotia. Not many Days after, the Persian Fleet, cruising about the Promontory Sepias, upon the Coasts of Magnesia, was surpriz'd with a violent Storm, wherein they loft 400 Men of War, and many other Vessels, besides a great Number of Men, and vast Summs of Money; whereupon the Grecians return'd to Artemi-Jium. Xerxes, in the mean time, with his land Army advanc'd towards Thermopylæ, and sent out his Scouts to discover the Posture of the Enemy. Leonidas and his Spartans were at that time exercifing themselves

to bico (g) Heroder, 1. 7. 6. 175. U 3

in Gymnick Games, and adorning their Heads, as upon fome Festival; wherefore, upon the Return of the Scouts, Xerxes enquir'd of Demaratus the Reason of He told him they were fully refolv'd to dye for their Country, and ready to fight it out to the last Man, if Occasion requir'd, at which Xerxes derided him, as he did before when he spake of the Valour of his Country-men; for he imagin'd they would be fo fcar'd at his Numbers, as not to dare to give him Battle. But he was foon convinc'd of his Millake by dear Experience. For about five Days after, he fent a strong Party of Persians to attack the Grecians, who lay in the Streights of Thermopyla; they defended the Passage two whole Days, and repuls'd the Persians with great loss; after this he detach'd the Band of Persians call'd the Immortal Regiment, which meeting with the fame Success, Xerxes is said to have leapt three times out of his Throne, fearing the Destruction of his whole Army, by an Handful of those Men whom he had not long before despis'd. The Day following the Fight was renew'd with the fame Fortune on both Sides; for of the Persians so many were kill'd, that the Passage was block'd up with Carcasses, insomuch that the vast Numbers of the Persians had not Room to fight, but being driven upon one another were repuls'd with greater Slaughter and Confusion. And this repeated ill Success had like to have put an End to this mighty Expedition: But whilst Xerxes was distracted between Shame and Despair, and in doubt what Measures to take, whether he should proceed in his Enterprize and trust to Fortune, or recede from it with Safety and Difgrace, a Grecian Deferter of Trachin, named Epialtes, discover'd to him a secret Way by which part of his Army might climb the Ledge of the Mountains, and fall upon the Backs of the Grecians. Hereupon Hydarnes was immediately detach'd with a strong Party, and having pass'd the River Asopus, in the Dead of Night got up into the Mountain, and after he had beaten the Guard of

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Phocians which kept Watch, came into the more plain and easy Way. This sudden and unexpected Approach of the Enemy, struck the Grecians with the utmost Consternation; however Leonidas, and his Spartans, having been forewarn'd by the Oracle that they must either lose their City, or one of their Kings, were prepar'd to receive the Enemy. Leonidas therefore gave leave to the rest of the Confederates to go off, and referve themselves for the better Fortune of their Country, who all immediately deferted him, except 700 Thespians, and some Thebans, whom the rest of the Grecians had forc'd thither, not so much for their Affistance, as to keep them as Holtages, and prevent their joining with the Persians. About Sun-rifing Leonidas with his resolute Companions, pass'd the Streights in order to give the Enemy Battle, who were not yet come down from the Mountain. Upon the first On-set they were immediately surrounded by the valt Numbers of the Persians; but the Grecians made so brave a Resistance, that 20000 of the Enemy fell, so that they may justly be stil'd Conquerors, though all of them were cut off upon the Spot: Xerxes in this Battle, besides 20000 of the Flower of his Army, and many brave Officers, having loft two of his own Brethren. On the Grecian fide, the Thebans were the only Men who lifted up their Targets, and begg'd Quarter, crying out they were brought thither against their Wills, and that they were the King's Subjects; however they were all kill'd, or stigmatiz'd for Disgrace, the just Reward of their cowardly Defertion of the common Cause, and betraying their Country. Leonidas's Body being found was nail'd to a Cross. This Battle was fought in the Olymp. middle of Summer, while some of the Grecians in 75. 1. Peloponnesus were celebrating the Games of the A. M. 75th Olympiad, in the Beginning of the first Year, in 3524. which Calliades was Archon at Atbens (h). At the

⁽h) Diod. Sic. 1. 11.

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fame time also Philosophy was translated out of Ionia to Athens by Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, Scholar to Anaximenes of Miletus, who being now about 20 Years old began to teach it publickly in that City (i), a way being made for Learning there, by the Library erected.

by Pifistratus.

Xerxes, by the Loss he sustain'd in the Battle at Thermopylæ, having had dear Experience of what De maratus had faid to him, began now to be in greater Fear than ever. But of all the Grecians he most dreaded the Spartans, whose Valour appear'd so rest markable in this Action, that he made strict Enquiry what Numbers they were able to bring into the Field. Demaratus having inform'd him that the City of Sparta could arm well nigh 8000 Men of equal Valour with those who dy'd at Thermopylæ, and that the other Lacedamonians, though inferiour to those, were Men of excellent Courage, he ask'd his Advice, how he might with the least Difficulty reduce them. Demaratus advis'd him to fend 300 Ships well mann'd, to furprize the Island Cythera, lying upon the Coasts of Laconia, which Chilon the Lacedamonian, fearing some fuch Attempt as this, formerly wish'd to be drown'd. in the Sea, rather than lie so near Sparta. This Island, by reason of its Situation, would be a good Garrison, from whence he might annoy the Spartans, who, by this means being engag'd in a War at their own Doors, would be destitute of all other Succour, the rest of the Grecians having Employment enough to make head against his Land Forces. And unless he did thus, all the Peloponnesians, possessing themselves of the Isthmus, would create him much greater Difficulties, than any he had hitherto met with: whereas' the Spartans being reduc'd, not only the Ishmus, but all the other Cities in Peloponnesus would readily come into him. Achamenes, the King's Brother oppos'd this Advice, and perswaded the King not to disperse

⁽i) Diog. Laert. in Anaxag.

his Fleet, for if, after the Loss of 400 Ships, which he had sustain'd in the late Storm, at Sepias, he should fend away 300 more, the Grecians would be strong enough by Sea to engage the rest of the Navy, which holding together would be invincible: and his Sea and Land Army would be mutually affifting to each other, whilst both of them held the same Course, and lay

not far afunder from one another (k).

The Grecian Fleet which confifted of 271 Sail, lay all this while at Artemisium, as a Bulwark to Eubaa, under the Command of Eurybiades the Lacedemonian, to whom the Athenians, to prevent any Quarrel which might divide the Confederates, yielded the Command. Eurybiades, at the Importunity of the other Grecians, would have hoisted Sail, and retird into the inward parts of Greece, had not Themistocles prevail'd upon him to stay till the Inhabitants of Eubea could dispose of their Wives and Children and Effects in some Place of Security. In the meantime, the Persian Fleet arriv'd at Apheta, where discovering the Smallness of the Grecian Fleet, which lay at Artemisium, the Persian Admirals resolv'd to engage them; wherefore imagining, that the Grecians would immediately fly at the first Motion of their Fleer, they fent 200 Sail, ordering them to leave the Island Sciathus on their right, and launch into the open Sea; left, if they cruis'd too near Eubea, they should be seen by the Enemy: And as foon as they pass'd Gerastus and Caphareus, lying upon the extreme parts of Eubaa, near the Mouth of the Straits, to fail up the River Euripus, and fall upon the Grecians behind, while the rest of the Fleet, which lay at Aphete, attack'd them before, by which means they hop'd to destroy the whole Grecian Fleet. Whilst these Matters were concerted, the Grecians being inform'd by one Scyllias a Deferter, of all their Defigns, and of the great Wreck they had lately fustain'd at Sepias, set sail at

⁽k) Herodot. 1, 7. 5. 327.

The History of GREECE. Book II. 314 Midnight, in order to meet the 200 Sail, which were coming upon them behind: but, at Break of Day, discovering no Persian Sail, they return'd to Artemisium with a Resolution to give the Persian Fleet Battle, which lay at Apheta, although vastly superiour to them in Number. After they had fought with uncertain Victory, they were parted by the Night; when the Grecians return'd to Artemisium, and the Persians to Apheta, having met with a much braver Resistance than they expected. The same Night a great Storm, arising from the Mountain Pelius, drove down the Planks of the Ships, that were shatter'd in the Storm at Sepias, to Aphetæ: this Storm, together with the dreadful Thunder, and Rain, and valt Quantities of Water, which came rowling upon them from the Rivers, struck the Persians with the utmost Consternation, who were fatigu'd with their Day's Labour in the Battle, and were now afraid that they should all be lost. As for the 200 Sail, which were fent to surprize the Grecians behind, they were the same Night overtaken by the Storm in the Streights of Eubaa, where they were driven upon the Rocks, and every one of them loft. This was another great Blow to the Persian Fleet, whereupon they thought it more adviseable, for the present, to lie itill and repair their Losses, than to venture upon Action. On the other hand, the Grecian Fleet being encreas'd by the Arrival of 53 Athenian Ships, the next Day fell upon some Cilician Ships, which were separated from the rest of the Fleet, and, having very much shatter'd them, return'd to Artemisum.

The Persians, being enrag'd at the continual Infults of the Grecians, and fearing the Anger of Xerxes, resolv'd to redeem their Credit by some notable Exploit: wherefore the next Day, drawing themselves out in Form of a Crescent, they thought to have surrounded the Grecians, who were ready to give them Battle at Artemisium. The Battle lasted from Noon to Night, and ended with equal Loss on both

both fides; for though more of the Persian Ships were funk and taken, yet the leffer Lofs fell altogether as heavy upon the Grecians, who, being few in Comparison with the Persians, were less able to bear it. In this however the Barbarians may feem to have had the worst, that they left the Sea, and the Wreck and Spoils fell to the Enemy. Amongst the Grecians, the Athenians behav'd themselves most mansfully, and amongst them Clinias, Father to Alcibiades; On the Persian side, the Egyptians. These things happen'd at Sea on the same three Days in which the Land Action was at Thermopyle; in both Straits the Grecians fighting most valiantly for their Lives and Liberties (1). But, they foon after quitted the Passage they had undertaken to defend, both because many of their Ships were batter'd, in this and the former Engagement, and more especially, because, upon Leonidas's Death, they thought it more fafe to retire nearer home. Themistocles perceiving their Resolution, before they weighed Anchor, perswaded them to kill the Cattle of the Eabaans, and bring the Meat on board, rather than leave them a Prey to the Enemy; and engrav'd in Stones, upon the Shore, and at the watering Places, where he knew the Ionians would come, an Exhortation to tevolt to the Grecians, and fide with their Mother-Country, or else to stand neuter, or fight but coldly. This he hop'd would either prevail with them to come over, or at least render them suspected by the Perfians (m).

The Grecians having loos'd from Artemisium, towards the Goalts of Attica, the Persian Fleet remov'd to Artemisium, and the Coasts adjoyning to Historis. Xerxes, having now pass'd the Streights of Thermopyle, with his Land Forces, march'd through Doris into Phocis; as for the Inhabitants, they chose rather to fly, and reserve themselves for a Day of Battle, than to venture their Lives in his Hands, in Hopes of saving

⁽¹⁾ Herodet. l. 8. c. 15. (m) Idem ibidem c. 23.

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their Riches, by their Submission. Xerxes march'd on, laying all waste before him; and being arriv'd at Panopea, a Town in Phocis, he divided his Army in two parts, with the one he invaded Greece, the other he sent to plunder and burn the samous Temple at Delphi; this Party was almost wholly destroy'd by Thunder and Lightning, and the sudden Fall of two Rocks, which broke off from the Mountain Parnassus; those who surviv'd fell into the Hands of the Phocians, who, having sled into the Mountain for fear of Xerxes, sell upon them; so that sew escap'd to their Friends in Baotia (n). Xerxes now march'd through Baotia, the Country of his Allies, into Attica, with a Design to do his utmost against the City of Athens it self.

In the mean time the Grecian Fleet, which, at the Request of the Athenians, lay in Harbour at Salamis, though strengthen'd with a new Accession of Ships upon the Coast of Trezen, could hardly be kept together; for every one being concern'd for his own Country, and despairing of Attica, and the rest of Greece, except Peloponnesus, as indefentible, it was debated whether they should fortify the Isthmus, and bring the whole Navy thither, from whence there might be a lafe Retreat into Peloponnesus, if they were beaten by the Persians. The Peloponnesian Commanders unanimously agreed to these Proposals, whereat the Atbenians were highly incens'd, having just reason to expect that the Peloponnesians would join with them, and the rest of the Confederates in defending Attica, as they had fought for them at Artemisium. But now, having no Hopes of their Affiftance, they only defir'd them to flay there, till they could provide some way for themselves. Whereupon they publish'd an Edict, by the Procurement of Themistocles, whereby all that were of a fit Age were oblig'd to come on board, and transport their Wives and Children, with

⁽ n) Idem ibid. c. 276.28.

their Slaves, and what else they could, to Salamis and Trazen. At the same time another Edict was publish'd, whereby all that were in Banishment were recall'd; this was made particularly for fear that Aristides, who had some time since been expell'd by Ostracism, should join with the Enemy, and many of the Citizens, by his Example, be tempted to revolt (0). But, before the Decree for his Return, he had not been wanting to stir up the Grecians, as much as he could,

to defend their Liberty.

The Grecian Fleet, which lay at Salamis, confifted of about 3 28 Sail, of which 180 were furnish'd by the Athenians, 161 by the Lacedamonians, 40 by the Corinthians, 30 swift Sailers by the Agineta, 20 by the Megarenses, and 20 by the Inhabitants of Chalcis; the rest were supply'd in less Numbers by the Islanders of Chios, Naxos, Melos, and Seriphus. Whilft the Commanders were in debate about the Place of Battle, News came that Xerxes had enter'd Attica, laying all waste before him with Fire and Sword. For, having burnt Thespia and Plataa in Baotia, which were abandon'd by the Inhabitants, he enter'd Athens three Months after he had pass'd over his Forces into Europe: The City, being abandon'd, he took without any Opposition; but the Citadel was for some time obstinately defended by a small Party of Athenians, till the Persians having discover'd a secret Passage into it, where no Watch was kept, because they did not expect any Attempts on that side, some of them threw themselves off from the Walls, others fled into the Temple of Aglaurus, Daughter of Cecrops, which stood in the Citadel. After which the Persians, having made a great Slaughter of the Athenians, and plunder'd the Temple, burnt the Citadel (p). The News of Athens being taken struck fresh Terror into the Grecians, so that some of the Commanders return'd to their Ships before the Council came to any Con-

⁽⁰⁾ Plutarch, in Themistocle, & Aristide. (p) Herodot, l. 8. c. 54. clusion,

clusion, and the rest resolv'd to sail to the Isthmus; by which means the Islands of Salamis and Agina would have been abandon'd, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestow'd, as in Places of Security) left to the Mercy of the Conqueror. This Resolution might have prov'd fatal to all Greece, had it not been prevented from taking effect by the Wisdom of Themistocles, who, at the Instigation of Mnesiphilus an Athenian, follow'd Eurybiades the Admiral into his Ship, and prevail'd with him to call the Council again. Themistocles made many Remonstrances against this Resolution, first in private to Eurybiades, telling him that the fame Fear which made them forfake the Coasts of Greece, upon which they then lay at Anchor, would afterwards also make them divide the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates withdraw themselves to the Defence of their own City. Again, in the Council he urg'd him so home, that Eurybiades, in a great Passion, lifted up his Staff to strike him; Themistocles bid him strike, if he would but hear him. He farther added, that the Fight at the Isthmus would be in an open Sea, whereas it was a manifest Advantage to them, who had the fewer Ships, to determine the Matter in the Straits; and that if they fail'd from thence, they should inevitably loose Agina, Megara, and Salamis, whereas by staying where they then were, they should not only fave those Places, but sufficiently defend the Isthmus, which the Barbarians should not so much as once look upon, if the Grecians got the Victory at Sea. Whilft Themistocles was speaking to this effect, and endeavouring to perswade the Peloponnesians to stay at Salamis, one Adimantus upbraided Themistocles with the Loss of Athens, and blam'd Eurybiades for suffering one to speak in the Council, that had no Country of his own to inhabit. This Indignity very much exasperated Themistocles, how ever, by the sharp Reply which he made to him, he prevail'd with them more, than by all his former Perswasions. He told them plainly, that the Albenians

nians wanted not a fairer City than any in Greece could boast of; having well near 200 Men of War, the better part of the Grecian Fleet, in which they could eafily transport their Families and Substance into any other Part of the World, and fettle themselves in a more secure Habitation, leaving them to provide for themselves as they could, who in their Extremity had refus'd to affift them. Withal he mention'd Siris, 2 Town in Italy, belonging to the State of Athens, of which an Oracle had foretold that the Athenians, in Process of time should rebuild it; and there, says he, will we plant our felves, leaving you a forrowful Remembrance of my Words. Eurybiades, when he heard this, being affraid, that if he drew off the Fleet to the Isthmus, he should be abandon'd by the Athenians. and by that means be unable to withstand the Enemy, refolv'd to stay at Salamis, and engage the Persians.

In the mean time the Persian Fleet, by fresh Supplies they receiv'd from all the Coasts by which they pass'd, being encreas'd as big as it was before the Storm at Sepias, arriv'd at the Phalerian Port at Athens: Where the King meeting them, a Council was immediately call'd, wherein it was debated, whether they should give the Grecians Battle, or not. All the other Commanders gave fuch Advice as they thought would best please the King, and therefore resolv'd to fight: only Artemisia, Queen of Halicarnassus, was of a contrary Opinion, that the King himself should march directly towards Peloponnesus, whereupon the Grecian Navy which, for want of Provision, could not continue long at Salamis, would presently be divided, and by that means become unable to make any Refistance. And as the Advantage will be great in forbearing to give them Battle, fo, on the other side, the Danger will be more (faid she) than we need venture, and the Loss, in case it fall upon us, greater than the Advantage of the Victory, if we should obtain it. For if we compel the Enemy to fly, it is no more than they would have done, though we had lain still; but if

if they, being better Seamen than ours, should beat us, the Expedition against Peloponnesus is utterly fpoil'd, and many that now declare for us, will foon revolt to the Grecians. Mardonius related to his Master the common Consent of the other Captains. and withal this disagreeing Opinion of Artemisia. The King though he approv'd of her Advice, yet refolv'd to follow the more general, but far worse Counfel: whereupon the Persians being order'd to loofe from the Phalerian Port, made for Salamis; but, it being too late to engage that Night, they made all the necessary Preparations to give the Grecians Battle the next Day. The News of the Persian Fleet coming against them struck all the Grecians with fresh Terrour: but the Peloponnesians were more especially concern'd that they should lie at Salamis to fight for Attica, which was already loft, and expose themfelves to the Hazard of being belieg'd in the Island Salamis, which was the best they could expect, in case the confederate Fleet was deseated, and in the mean time leave their own Country open and defenceless. The same Night that the Persian Fleet loos'd from the Phalerian Port, their land Army march'd towards Peloponnesus, notwithstanding the Peloponnesians had us'd their utmost Endeavours to prevent their Entrance through the Continent. For, upon the News of Leonidas's Death, at Thermopyle, the Peloponnesians, under the Conduct of Cleombrotus, Leonidas's Brother, guarded the Passage at the Isthmus; and, now having no Hopes of Relief, from the Grecian Navy at Salamis, were employ'd in building a Wall crofs the Isthmus, to block out the Enemy. The Peloponnesians, who lay at Salamis, hearing this, privately follicited Eurybiades to draw off the Fleet to the Isthmus: The Matter being again brought before a Council, it was refolv'd to fail to the Isthmus, and leave the Athenians, with the Agineta, and Megarenses, to engage the Enemy at Salamis. Thus again the Grecians had like to have been utterly ruin'd, by break-

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breaking their united Strength, had not Themissocles in time prevented it. There was at that time with him one Sicinus, a Persian Prisoner, in great Favour with Themistocles, infomuch that he taught his Children. Him he fent privately to the King, to give him a true Information of the intended Flight, advising him to fend part of his Navy about the Island, which encompassing the Grecians, would prevent their Escape, otherwise he might expect a long and difficult War; for then he would be forc'd to purfue them fingly: but if he would fall upon them now, whilft they were together, he might cut them all off at one Blow. Besides this, he promis'd him his Assistance. The Persian being well assur'd of the Victory, if the Athenian Fleet join'd with him, order'd his Fleet to fail, though in so narrow a Sea, that his whole Navy could not engage; which was disadvantageous to him, but on the contrary, most convenient for the Enemy. The Persians labour'd hard all Night to come up to them, and fent many of their Ships round Salamis, to charge them in the Rear, and landed a Party of Men in the Island Plyttalia, which lies against Salamis, to save such of their own Men, or kill such of the Grecians as should be cast upon the Shore. The same Night Aristides. out of a deep Sense of the common Danger, sail'd from Agina to Salamis, through the midit of the Enemy's Fleet, to give the Grecians Notice of their being furrounded by the Persian Navy. He immediately apply'd himself to Themistocles, and desir'd, that, all private Differences being now laid afide, he would confult with him about proper Measures of providing for their common Safety. Themistocles then told him, that, having no other way left of holding the Confederates together, he had procur'd them to be furrounded. He moreover advis'd him to lay the Matter before the Council, which was then fitting: and, in all Probability, they would believe themfelves to be in Danger, when they heard it from Arifti-

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Ariflides's Mouth, whereas, if he himself should relate it, they would only look upon it as a mere Fiction. intended to hinder them from failing to the Ifthmus. Ariftides, having related the Matter, the Council was divided, the greatest part of them not believing him; when one Panætius, who commanded a Galley belonging to the Island Tenedos, revolting from the Persians, and confirming what Aristides had faid, the Grecians, finding themselves under a Necessity of fighting or being destroy'd, unanimously prepar'd themselves for the Battle (q). Xerxes, having plac'd himself on a high Throne over against Salamis, from whence he might take a View of the Fight, gave Orders to his Secretaries, whom he took with him, to write down the Particulars of the Battle. The Fight was fought with great Fury on both fides, the Particulars whereof are not very remarkable; but certainly Xerxes's Scribes had a very unpleasant Task, to write down the many Difasters that befel the Persian Navy, which did no piece of Service, worthy the Presence of the King, or the registring of his Notaries. The Grecians, fighting for their Lives and Liberties, and whatever else was dear to them, behav'd themselves with great Bravery: and in this feem to have had the Advantage of the Enemy, though vastly superiour to them in Number, that being better Sea-men, and engaging in a narrow Sea, they fought in much greater Order, than the Enemy could possibly do: who, being compos'd of many Nations, and fighting in a Place very disadvantageous to their vast Fleet, neither concerted Matters, nor engag'd with that Order, which was remarkable in the Grecian Navy; and by reason of the vast Number of their Ships, often hinder'd one another. After an obstinate Fight, wherein many were kill'd on both fides, but especially on the Persian, the Grecians, when their Ships were funk, faving themselves by

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⁽q) Confer. Herodot. 1. 8. a cap. 79 ad 84, eum Plutarch in Themistocle, & Aristide.

Swimming, the Persians, who were but fresh Seamen, finking with their Ships, the Perfian Fleet began to fly. Whereupon the Athenians press'd hard upon them, and destroy'd many of their Ships; those that escap'd the Athenians, made the best of their way towards the Phalerian Port, but being intercepted by the Ægineta, were most of them either funk or taken. Such of them as escap'd, arriv'd at the Phalerian Port, where the Men going ashore, fled to the Land-Army. Many of the Persian Nobility fell in this Battle, and amongst the rest Ariabignes, the King's Brother, and Ariamenes another of the King's Brothers, and Admiral of the Persian Fleet (r). Very few were kill'd on the Grecian fide: The principal Honour of the Victory was afcrib'd to the Exinete and the Athenians; and, of all the Commanders, The: mistocles did the greatest Service. Amongst the Persians, the Valour of Queen Artemisia appear'd most remarkable, and was acknowledg'd by Xerxes himfelf, who there upon faid, that His Men were turn'd into Women, and his Women into Men. She narrowly escap'd to the Phalerian Port, being closely pursued by one Aminias, the Athenian Commanders having propos'd 10000 Drachme for a Reward to any one that should take her; for they thought it a very great Difgrace to them, that a Woman should fight against Athens (s). In this Action Aristides did very confiderable Service; for, whilst the two Fleets were engaging, he, with a Party of Men, pals'd over into the Island Pfyttalea, and kill'd a great Number of the Enemy who had posses'd themselves of the Island: Amongst feveral other Prisoners of great Quality, he took three of the Sons of Sandauce, the King's Silter; thefe he fent to Themistocles, who was then facrificing to the Gods, in the Admiral's Ship, where Euphrantides, a Soothfayer, order'd them to be facrific'd to Bacebus Omestes (t), fo call'd, either from the human

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⁽r) Plutarch, in Themistocle. (s) Herodot, l. 8, c. 93. (t) Plutarch, in Themistocle, & Aristide.

raw Flesh, which the Priests pretended to eat (").

Xerxes seem'd not much discourag'd at this Defeat, but continued making new Preparations for carrying on the War, however he fecretly wish'd himself safe out of Europe, and, fearing the Ionians would break down the Bridge laid over the Hellespont, began to consider how to make a timely Retreat: But to disguise this Intention, he began a new Project, to join the Island Salamis with the Continent, by casting Earth into the Straits. Mardonius, who was well acquainted with the King's Temper, began to cast a wary Eye upon his Malter, for he having first advis'd him to the War, was now afraid that his Advice would be rewarded according to the bad Success it had met with. Wherefore being refolv'd to subdue Greece, or lose his Life in the Attempt, he went to the King, and extenuating the Losles, which he had fustain'd in this Expedition, his Land Army being left entire, propos'd to him, to leave him with 300000 Men, with which he would engage to revenge him upon Greece, and reduce it all under his Power, if he pleas'd himself to depart into Afia; at the same time telling him, that the Cowardise of those Egyptians, Phanicians, and Cilicians, and others no better than Slaves, who had behav'd themselves so ill in the Battle at Salamis, did not at all concern his Honour, who had always been Victorious, having already subdued the better part of Greece, and himself in Person taken Athens. These Words found an easy Admission into the King's Ear, notwithstanding he dissembled his own Fears, and faid he would refer it to his Council, which he accordingly did, and ask'd the Opinion of Artemisia in particular; fhe approv'd of Mardonius's Advice; for if he should subdue Greece, it would be to the King's Advantage, and if he should miscarry, it

⁽u) Archaolog. Grac. 1. 2. c. 20, in vice Aieruna.

would be no Difgrace to him, who, in his own Perfon, had accomplish'd the main Design of the Expedition, in taking, and burning Athens. Xerxes being pleas'd with the Advice, fent her away before with his Sons which he had brought with him, and gave Mardonius Liberty to make choice of what, and how many Forces he pleas'd: All this being done the same Day with the Fight at Salamis. The Night following, the Persian Fleet, in great Fear and Disorder, loos'd from Phalerum, and fled amain towards the Hellespont; The Grecians pursued them as far as Andros one of the Cyclades, where losing Sight of them, they took in at the Island, which was in the Persian Interest. Here it being debated, whether they should pursue the Enemy any farther, Themistocles advis'd them to fail directly to the Hellespont, and break down the Bridge, and by that means prevent the Enemy's Flight into Asia: Eurybiades, or, according to Plutarch (x), Aristides oppos'd this Advice, lest, the Bridge being broken down, the Perfians, out of mere Necellity, should turn again upon them with greater Courage, and conquer Greece. Wherefore he was of Opinion, that, instead of detaining of the Enemy in Europe against their Will, they should contrive some means of haltning their Flight out of it. However, Themistocles, foreseeing, that through the Inconstancy and Ingratitude of his Countrymen, he might have Occasion to make use of Friends, that now he might make one of Xerxes, and at the same time provide for the better Security of his Country, betook himself to his wonted Crast and Policy. He dispatch'd away his former trusty Messenger Sicinus, or, according to Plutarch (y) one Arnaces, a Persian Captive and one of the King's Eunuchs, to acquaint him how careful he was for his Safety, in diffwading the Grecians from pursuing him, and to advise him by all means to make to-

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⁽x) Plutarch, in Themistocle, & Aristide. (y) Plutarch, in Themissocle, & Aristide,

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The History of GREECE. Book III. 326 wards the Hellespont, before the Bridge was broken down. Xerxes, who was then in Attica, being affrighted at the Receipt of the News, presently march'd, with his whole Army, through Baotia, into Theffaly, where he left Mardonius 300000 Men, and himself with a small obscure Retinue made the best of his way, through Macedonia and Thrace to the Hellespont, where he arriv'd in 45 Days, and finding the Bridge broken in pieces by Tempests, went on board with part of his Army (z), or, as Juftin fays, himfelf embark'd in a small Fisher's Boat (a), and landed at Abydus. The Remainder of his Army, which he had order'd to follow him, was almost consum'd by the Plague and Famine, so that the Way was strewed with Carcasses. Many of them being shipp'd over to Abydus, when they came to a free use of Meat and Drink, fell into bloody Fluxes, which prov'd very mortal amongst them. Those who furviv'd by flow and easy Marches reach'd the King at Sardis.

In the mean time, the Grecians having determin'd not to pursue the Enemy's Fleet, Themistocles demanded Money of the Inhabitants of Andros, endeavouring to terrify them with two powerful Deities, Perswasion and Necessity. They, trusting to the Strength of their Fortifications, oppos'd two other Deities, as powerful as the former, Poverty and Impossibility, and refus'd to give him any Money. Hereupon they were closely belieg'd. Themistocles in the mean time, privy to the rest of the Grecian Commanders, fail'd to other Islands, which were in the Persian Interest, and by the same means which he had us'd towards Andros, endeavour'd to extort Contributions from them, threatning them, that, unless they gave him Money, he would immediately bring the Grecian Fleet, and beliege them. By these means he rais'd a confiderable Sum from the Island Paros, and

⁽⁷⁾ Herodot. 1. 8. c. 117. (a) Jufin, 1. 2. c. 13.

Carystus, a City in Eubara, who, hearing that Andros was now belieg'd, and dreading the Power of Themistocles, who, by reason of his late eminent Service at Salamis, was in chief Authority amongst the Grecian Commanders, immediately complied with his Demands. The Grecian Fleet having made feveral fruitless Attempts upon Andros, rais'd the Siege; from whence they fail'd to Carystus, and having laid waste the Country lying about it, return'd to Salamis. Here they dedicated the Tenths of the Spoils, which they had taken in the War, to the Gods, and amongst other things, three Phanician Ships, one whereof was dedicated at the Isthmus, another at Sunium, and the third at Salamis. they divided the Booty amongst the Confederates, every one of whom dedicated the Tenths of their Shares to Apollo at Delphi. After this they fail'd to the Isthmus, with a Delign there to reward him, who should be thought to have belt deserv'd in the War. When they came to deliver their Minds in Writing, at the Altar of Neptune, every one wrote his own Name first, and in the second Themistocles's, which was a tacit Confession, that they acknowleg'd him to have done the greatest Service in the War. And though by the Envy of some his Glory was, in some measure, eclips'd, yet he was esteem'd the most prudent Man in all Greece, even in the Judgment of the severe State of Sparta. For going thither from the Isthmus, he was very honourably receiv'd by the Spartans, and receiv'd particular Acknowledgments of the fignal Services he had done for the general Security of Greece: and as the Character of Valour was given to Eurybiades. fo that of Wisdom and Dexterity was to Themistocles. Befides this they gave him a Crown of Olive Leaves, and the best Chariot in Sparta; and, at his Departure, to do him yet greater Honour, they fent 300 Horse to conduct him to the Borders of their Dominions, which was never done to any Man before.

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Whilst these things were transacted in these parts, Artabazus, a Persian Noble, who attended Xerxes to the Hellespont, with 60000 Men taken out of Mardonius's Army, in his Return through Macedonia, found Potidea and Pallene revolted from the King. He immediately befieg'd Potidea, and suspecting that Olynthus likewise intended to revolt, he at the same time besieg'd that too. Olynthus was then inhabited by the Bottiei, who were driven by the Macedonians from the Bay of Therma. Artabazus, having taken Olynthus, left Critobulus Governour of it, and laid closer Siege to Potidea. Here he carried on secret Practices with Timoxenus of Scione, who promis'd to betray the City to him. The means whereby they held a Correspondence with each other, was by tying Letters to an Arrow, which they shot to a certain place agreed on between themselves: Artabazus missing his Aim, his Letters miscarried, and were read to the Magistrates, by which means the whole Plot was discover'd: so that, after he had lain three Months before the Town, many of his Men being lost in the Sea, which broke in upon them with an unufual Tide, he was forc'd to raife the Siege. With the Remainder of his Army he join'd Mardonius in The Persian Fleet, being return'd to the The saly. Coalts of Asia winter'd at Cuma, only some few Ships were left at Samos, whither in the Spring they all fail'd, being increas'd to 300 by the Addition of the Ionians, on whose Coasts they now lay to keep them in Obedience; for they durft not venture to fail any more Westward, by reason of the Experience they had lately had of the Grecians at Salamis; and they did not much fear the Grecians coming so far from Home in Pursuit of them, whilst Mardonius with his Army lay to near at their Doors. The Grecians had not yet made any Preparations by Land to oppose Mardonius; but were very busy at Ægina in rigging their Fleet, of which Leotychides King of Sparta, was made Admiral. Xanthippus Father to Pericles comcommanded the Athenian Fleet, which confilted of the greatest Number of Ships. Whilst they lay here, six Men came from Chios, who having conspir'd against Strattes their Tyrant, upon the Discovery of the Plot made their Escape to Sparta, and from thence to Lyina, where they desir'd the Consederates to sail to the Coasts of Ionia. The Grecians were prevail'd with to go as far as Delos, but, being yet unacquainted with the Affairs of Asia, they durst go no sarther for Fear of the Persians; so that both

Parties stood in Awe of each other.

Mardonius, who all this while lay in Theffaly not forgetting his Promise to his Master, consulted the Oracles; but they returning no Answer, he sent Alexander King of Macedon Ambassadour to Athens, to try if he could draw them off from the rest of the Grecians. He knew the Athenians had given the most mortal Blows in the Battle at Salamis, and thought that if they could be taken off, the rest would be conquer'd with little or no Difficulty. The Athenians had now re-enter'd their City, but not as yet brought back their Wives and Children, for that could be no place of Security till Mardonius's Army was broken or defeated. The Noise of this Ambassy reaching Sparta, the Lacedemonians were very much disturb'd for fear it should find a ready Acceptance; therefore they dispatch'd Ambassadours to Athens, to prevent an Alliance so dangerous to all Greece; and the Athenians refus'd to give Alexander Audience till their Arrival, that they might be present at it. Alexander inform'd them, that Xerxes had given Orders to Mardonius to fignify to them how willing he was to make them Amends for the Losses which they had sustain'd in the Wars, and to affure them, that he would extend their Territories as far as their own Desires, and leave them in the quiet Enjoyments of their Laws and Liberties, and repair their Temples at his own Charges, if they would enter into a Confederacy with

The History of GREECE. Book III. 330 with him, otherwise they could not but be sensible what great Calamities they drew upon themselves from to potent a Prince as Xerxes, who was able to send other Armies, if that under Mardonius should be destroy'd; to this, spoken as from Mardonius, Alenander added, as a Friend, that it was not advisable for them to let flip fo fair an Opportunity. The Spartan Ambassadours in Answer to what Alexander had faid, alledg'd how unjust a thing it would be in the Athenians, above all others, to defert the common Cause, who had been the chief Cause of the War; for neither Xerxes nor Darius had any Pretence of War against the rest of Greece, but had only threaten'd the Subversion of Athens, till they and their Confederates, atming themselves in Defence of that City, were drawn into the Quarrel, in which the Athenians without Cruelty and Injustice could not leave them. They told them they were not unmindful of the Calamities they had fuffer'd, in the Loss of their Territories, and the almost entire Ruin of their City; but to make up these as far as lay in their Power, they promis'd to take care of their Families during the War, in hopes that they would not degenerate from the Glory of their Anceltors, who had been fo famous in fetting others at Liberty, by now delivering up the general Estate of Greece into perpetual Bondage and Slavery. As for the Barbarians, their Promifes were large, but their Words and Oaths were not to be rely'd on. It was needless to use many Arguments to the Athenians, who gave their Answer to Alexander, in the Presence of the Spartan Ambassadours, that so long as the Sun continued his Course, they would be Enemies to Xerxes, and that their Liberty was not to be purchas'd with all the Gold he could offer; and they defir'd Alexander, whom they respected as a Friend, to come no more with any such ungrateful Message, lest he should suffer something from the incens'd Multitude. To the Spartans they answer'd,

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that they would never enter into Confederacy with the Persians, and as for the Maintenance of their Wives and Children, it was a Burden which they would bear themselves; they only desir'd them to make what Haste they could with their Supplies, for it was not likely Mardonius would fit still very long in Thessay, upon the Receipt of such a peremptory Answer, and they thought it most convenient to meet him in Baotia.

Alexander being return'd with the Athenians Anfwer, Mardonius in great Wrath march'd out of The flaly, and with his numerous Forces advanc'd towards Athens. When he came to Thebes, the Inhabitants advis'd him to flay there in a commodious Place, and try what he could do by Bribing the leading Men in each City; by this Means the Grecians being divided into Factions, those who persisted in their first Resolution, could not long hold out against him; so that the whole Country without any Difficulty must immediately come in to him. Mardonius, whether out of a tender Regard to his Honour, or upon some other Motive, was Deaf to all fuch Advice, and march'd directly to Athens, in hopes that by Fires made in the Islands Cyclades, he should give Notice to his Master, who still lay at Sardis, that he was again got to Athens, which the Inhabitants upon his Approach had now quitted a second time, and convey'd themselves into Places of more Security abroad in the Country, where they expected the Arrival of their Confederates. Ten Months compleat after the taking of it by Xerxes, Mardonius again enter'd Athens, from whence he fent to Salamis, once more offering them the fame Conditions he had before propos'd to them by Alexander; for he was in hopes, that these Extremities to which they were again reduc'd, would have brought down their high Stomach, and render'd any Terms acceptable. But his Expectations were defeated; for the Athenians so little regarded his Offers, that

⁽b) Plutarch, in Aristide.

their Defence, if the Athenians should join with Mardonius; for many Doors would be foon open'd into the Peloponnesus, if the Enemy, by winning the Friendship of Athens, should become Master of the Sea about it. The Lacedemonians, upon this Admonition, confidering their own Dangers, were then very ready to give Satisfaction to the Athenian Ambassadours, who, not brooking their Delays, were upon the point of taking leave, and even of renouncing their Alliance. Wherefore in the dead of Night, and without the Privity of the Athenian Ambassadours, they fent out 5000 Men, besides 7000 of the Heilota, under the Conduct of Pausanias the Son of Cleombrotus, and Tutor to Plistarchus the Son of Leonidas, then a Minor. In the Morning the Ambassadours expostulated with them as before, and their Complaints were now answer'd with vehement Protestations of their Readiness; swearing that their Recruits were already far on the March, and giving them leave to raise 5000 Men more out of the adjacent Country. The Athenians, though disgusted at their flow Resolutions in a Matter of such Importance, were nevertheless contented with the final Conclusion, and levying their appointed Number of Lacedamonian Souldiers, made what haste they could to encamp in Attica. As for the other Grecians, they were quick and hearty in fending their Quota's; Mardonius having Intelligence how things went in Peloponnesus, from the Argivi, who were all this while of his Party, was quite confounded, for till then he had conceiv'd Hopes of the Athenians Compliance, and for that reason had hitherto spar'd their Territories; but now he burnt the City of Athens, beat down the Walls, and laid all in Ruins that had escap'd the Fury of the last War. Attica being too rough, and disadvantageous to his Cavalry, in which confisted his chief Strength, he return'd into Baotia, and encamp'd near the River Asopus; which, though a rich, and plentiful Country, could hardly afford

The History of GREECE. Book III. afford necessary Provisions for his vast Army. The Spartans lay all this while at the Ishmus, where they were join'd by the other Peloponnesians, and from thence march'd to Eleusis. The Athenians from Salamis joining with them also, they follow'd Mardonius into Baotia, and encamp'd over against him at the Foot of the Mountain Citheron. The Grecians brought into the Field rocooo, or, according to Herodotus, near 1100000 Men; Mardonius's Army contifted of 200000 Men, besides 20000 Grecian Auxiliaries. The Grecians being encamp'd, Mardonius fent Masistius with a Party of Horse to assault them, which upbraiding them with Cowardife, and provoking them to fight, fome light Skirmishes ensued, in which the Megarenses being plac'd on disadvantageous Ground, were very forely harrafs'd, but being reliev'd by a Party of 200 Athenians, a sharp Engagement follow'd, in which Massfrius was flain. The Fight was renew'd with great Obstinacy on both sides about his Body, all the Perfian Horse, and the whole Grecian Army being drawn into the Quarrel; but the Perfians at length being forc'd to retire, it was carry'd in Triumph about the Grecians Camp. This, as it very much dishearten'd the Persians, so, on the other hand, it no less animated the Grecians: However, notwithstanding their Success in this Engagement, the Grecians decamp'd, and march'd into the Territories of Platea, whither they were foon follow'd by Mardonius, who encamp'd over against them.

The two Armies confronted each other ten Days, without performing any memorable piece of Service; the Grecians continually encreasing, with vast Numbers of Deserters, and the Persians being very much distress'd for want of Provisions. On the 11th Mardonius call'd a Council of War, to debate what was to be done. Artabazus, the Son of Pharmaces, and a Rival of the Generals, was of opinion that it was best to decline the Fight, and march to Thebes,

where they might have plenty of Provision, and from thence by fending Money into the principal Cities of Greece (according to the advice formerly given by the Thebans) they might with eafe put an end to the War. But Mardonius, who was more hot and eager, thinking his Army to be at prefent stronger than the Enemy, was deaf to all perswasion, and resolv'd to Fight; and none of the rest daring to oppose him, it was refolv'd to fall on the next Morning by break of Day. The Athenians had notice of all that had pass'd in Council, from Alexander the Macedonian, who advis'd them, in case Mardonius did not Fight, to stay it out, because the Persians were straightned for Provisions. The Grecians by an Oracle were affur'd of the Victory if they fought in the Land of the Athenians, and in the Plain of Ceres and Proferpina, making Prayers to certain Gods, Demi Gods, and Nymphs. But it was hard to find the certain place intended by the Oracle. For the Plain of Ceres was in the Territory of Athens; but there was also an old Temple of Ceres and Proferpina, near the place where they lay at that time Encampt, and the Memorials of those Nymphs and Demi-Gods were in the same place upon Mount Citheron, and the Ground was very advantageous for Infantry against Horse; only it belong'd to Platea, and not to Athens. Whilft the Grecians were perplex'd about the Interpretation of this doubtful Oracle, the Plataans, to make all clear, freely beflow'd their Land on that fide the Town upon the Athenians. This Magnificence of the Plateans made Alexander the Great, many Ages after, rebuild their City, which was ruin'd in the Peloponnesian War. All things being ready for the Battel, Paulanias the Lacedemonian General, desir'd the Athenians to stand against the Persians, because they were better acquainted with their way of Fighting fince the Battle of Marathon, and order'd the Spartans to Fight the Thehans, and the other Grecians who follow'd Mardonius, and whom they had often beaten before. This

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This being agreed upon, the Athenians chang'd place with the Lacedamonians, which Mardonius understanding, whether out of fear of the Athenians, of whose valour the Persians had already had dear experience, or defiring to encounter the Spartans, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers of Greece, chang'd the order of his Battle, and oppos'd himself to Paufanias. All the Grecians might well perceive how the Enemy shifted Wings, and Paulanias thereupon return'd to his former Station; which Mardonius observing did the same. Thus one whole Day was spent in changing to and fro; and Mardonius upon this fent and upbraided Pausanias and his Spartans with Cowardise, especially seeing he had made a Challenge to Fight them with his Persians. The Persians made some attempt that Day with their Archers on Horseback, who so Harass'd the Grecians at their Watering-place, that they were forc'd to dislodge that Night, and pass over into an Island compass'd about with the River, and near the Walls of Platea, which was very convenient for Water and Provisions. Part of their Army was order'd to march before Day, but most of them missing the place, went to the Temple of Juno, in the High-way to Platea, and encampt themselves there; the Spartans being commanded to follow, much trouble arose thereupon, by means of one Amompharetus a valiant Man, who commanded the Pitaneta, and for some time would not stir with his Regiment, crying out, it was contrary to the Spartan discipline to fly from the Enemy, supposing that Paulanias and the relt durst not forfake him. But towards Morning finding himfelf abandon'd, he came off from this resolution, and so all marcht to the Temple of Ceres, situate upon the River Moloes, being closely pursued by the Persian Horse.

The Sun being up, Mardonius reproaching the Grecians for their Cowardife, and Artabazus for his late Advice, marcht with his whole Army, in purfuit of the Enemy, who feem'd to him to fly out of

Fear,

and charg'd them in the Rear with great Fury. The Lacedæmonians, being overtaken by the Enemy's Horse, and extremely harrass'd with great! flights of Arrows, quietly fate still, not making any refistance till the Sacrifices for Victory were accepted by the Gods, tho' many of them were hurt and kill'd, before any fign of good Success appear'd in the Entrails. But as foon as Paulanias had found the fortunate Omen in the Sacrifice, he gave the fignal for Battle; whereupon the Souldiers, who till then fate upon the Ground, rose altogether, and with great Courage receiv'd the Charge of the Barbarians, who came thronging upon them, little expecting so brave a Refistance. The Tegeate charg'd the Persian Infantry, in which, after much Toil and Bloodshed Mardonius, fighting on a white Horse in the midst of 1000 choice Men, was kill'd by Aimnestus, a Valiant Spartan. The Persians being discourag'd at the Death of their General, were Slaughter'd in great Numbers, and put to the Rout; the Grecians, who affilted Mardonius, tho' nothing inferiour to their Country-Men in Vallour, were put to flight; and 300 Thebans, who had behav'd themselves very manfully, were kill'd upon the spot. In the mean time the Corinthians, Megarenses, Phliasians, and other Grecian Confederates, who were posted at Juno's Temple, hearing of the Victory of their Friends, made what haft they could, though in great disorder, to the General Rout: The Corinthians over Hill and Dale made the best of their way; but the rest, who went through the Plains, were circumvented by the Theban Horse, and many of them cut off; The Spartans however with the Tegeatæ acquitted themselves so well, that the Persians fled to their Camp, which they had fortify'd with a Rampire, and Wooden Walls; They for some time defended themselves with great Courage, the Lacedamonians being unacquainted with the manner of affaulting Fortresses and Walls. In the mean time the Athenians, who engag'd the Thebans and Thellalians,

lians, having with much difficulty obtain'd the Victory, came to the affistance of the Lacedamonians, whom they found weary in affaulting the Camp with more Courage than Skill. The Athenians being better exercis'd in such attempts, soon made a breach through the Wall, at which the Grecians enter'd with fuch Fury and desire of Revenge, that of the 300000 left by Xerxes, not 3000 escap'd alive, except those who fled with Artabazus, when the Persian Army first fell to Rout. The Tegeata plunder'd Mardonius's Tent, from whence they took his Bralen Manger; 100000 Perfians were Slaughter'd without Mercy within the Rampire. Of the Grecians not many were kill'daccording to Herodotus, who reckons 21 Spartans, 16 Tegeatæ and 52 Athenians; Plutarch affirms 1360 of the Grecian Army to have been Slain, and Diodorus increases the Number to above 10000. The Mantineans and Eleans came after the Victory, at which they were fo asham'd, that when they return'd home, they banish'd their Leaders as the Authors of their delay. The Conquerors march'd from thence to Thebes, where the Inhabitants gave up the Authors of their Revolt to the Persians; being carry'd to Corintb, they were all put to Death, except Attaginus, who made his escape. Artabazus, (who in the beginning of the Battle, when the Persian Army first fell to Rout) fled into Thrace, told the Thessalians, and the other Nations in his way, that Mardonius had fent him upon some piece of Service: For he knew well enough, that if they had understood any thing of his Defeat, all places would immediately turn against him, and endeavour his ruine to get in favour with the Conquerors. Therefore making as speedy Marches as he could, many of his Souldiers, weary'd with the Fatigue, were left behind and lost; with the rest he reach'd Byzantium, and from thence went on Board for Asia.

Whilst these things pass'd in Baotia, the Grecian Fleet, commanded by Leotychides and Xanthippus, lay at harbour at the Island Delos. Hither came three

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Ambassadors from Samos, desiring their affistance against the Barbarians, and the Tyrant impos'd upon them, shewing them how just, and equitable a thing it was, that the Grecians should affert each others Liberty, and that this Enterprise would be without the least difficulty, for the Ionians, upon fight of their Fleet, would revolt from the Persians. Lastly, if they were suspected of not representing things according to their Commission, they offer'd themselves as Hostages, till the truth should be discover'd. Leotychides taking an Oath of them, that they came impower'd by the Samians, retained Hegesistratus, who had been the Mouth of the relt, and fending the other two before, follow'd the next Day to Samos. The Persian Admirals, stricken with great fear at the report of the Grecian Fleet approaching, dismis'd the Phanicians Vessels, and fled with the rest to the Continent, in hopes that with 60000 Foot, which Xerxes had left under the Command of Tigranes upon the Coasts of Ionia, they should keep them firm to their Obedience. They withdrew their Ships under the Foot of the Promontory Mycale, near the Temple of Ceres of Eleusis, and barricaded them with great Stones, Wood, and other Materials. Leotychides at his arrival, perceiving that they intended to keep within their Fortress, row'd close to the Shore, and call'd upon the Ionians, who join'd with the Persians, more out of Fear than Good-will, exhorting them in the Greek Tongue to remember Liberty, and use the Golden Opportunity which they now had of recovering it. This Stratagem, which was done in imitation of Themistocles, and when he made use of it, had little or no effect, now met with better success. For Xerxes being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perswade the Inhabitants of Asia to revolt, who now in his declining State, gave a willing Ear to the found of Liberty. The Persians, who in their former Bravery, little regarded, and much less fear'd any Treason contriv'd by their Sub-Y 2

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The History of GREECE. Book HI. 340 jects, were now fo wary, that the Samians, who were amongst them, were disarm'd; the Milesians, whom they suspected, but would not seem to mistrust, they plac'd at some distance from them, to defend the Streights of Mycale, pretending that they were best acquainted with those places. But all this Policy little avail'd them: For the Samians, perceiving that they were look'd on as Traytors, took Courage, in the heat of the Battel, and laying hold upon such Weapons as came to Hand, Manfully affaulted the Persians within the Camp; the Ionians soon follow'd their example, being very glad to have found fome that durst begin. Tis faid, that whilst the Grecians were yet upon their March towards the Enemy's Camp, a fuddain Report ran through the whole Army, that Mardonius was overthrown in Greece; which, though in all Probability given out by the Commanders to encourage the Souldiers, yet it was very true: For the Battle of Platea was fought in the Morning, and this at Mycale in the Evening of the same Day. The Fame of the Battle at Platea being nois'd among them, every Man desir'd that his own Valour in the present Fight might contribute to the full Deliverance of Greece. The Grecians divided themselves into two Battalions; one led by the Athenians, by the way of the Plain, directly towards the Enemy's Camp; the other by the Lacedamonians, by the Mountains and streight Passages, to gain the higher Ground. The Athenians fell upon the Camp, before the Lacedemonians could arrive on the other fide, and being defirous to get all the Honour of the Day to themselves, assaulted it with so much Fury, that they broke through the Pallizadoes, and made themselves Masters of the Place, destroying all, that could not fave themselves by Flight. In this Fight the Samians did good Service; but the Milesians, who upon the like Jealoufy were plac'd upon the Top of Mycale to defend the Passages (as if they had been fet on purpose to keep them from running away)

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Book III. The History of GREECE.

put as many to the Sword as fell into their Hands, except a very few, that fled through Bye-paths. The Lacedamonians did little Service that Day, for the Battle was over, and the Enemy dispers'd before they could come up: only they broke fuch Companies as retir'd in whole Troops, making them fly in great Disorder, whereby the Milesians were enabled to do the greater Execution upon them. This was the last Battle fought by that vast Army Olymp. levy'd by the Persian against Greece, which being 75.2. now utterly broken, put an End to the vain-glorious A.M. Expedition of Xerxes, which succeeded even worse 3525. than his Uncle Artabazus had foretold, forasmuch as it began a Quarrel, which ended in the Ruine of the Persian Empire, by the Greeks, whom they had

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The Grecians, lying at Samos, fell into Dispute about translating the Ionians and Aolians out of Asia into Greece, for that they could not be always in a Readiness to defend them, and they could not fublish of themselves; and the Spartans mov'd, that those who had revolted to the Persian, should be turn'd out of Greece, and these plac'd in their room; but the Athenians highly refenting, that the Spartans should concern themselves in Matters relating to their Colony, spoil'd this Design. The Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and others, who had revolted, having folemnly and religiously sworn to observe the League, the Grecians departed towards the Hellespont, to break down the Bridge there, to prevent the Enemy's Return into Europe. Finding the Bridge already broken down, they debated whether they should fail home, or subdue the Thracian Chersonesus, which the Persians had reduc'd in the late War, and were now in Possession of. Leotychides, with his Spartans, and Peloponnesian Confederates, return'd home, leaving Xanthippus and his Athenians, with their Allies of Ionia and the Hellespont, now revolted from the Persian, to carry on the War. The

The History of GREECE. Book III. Athenians immediately loos'd from Abydus, and cross'd the Hellespont, to Sestus, which being the strongest City in the Thracian Chersonesus, was posses'd by the Persians, who, upon the Noise of the Arrival of the Grecian Fleet, all flock'd thither for Refuge. Artayetes, whom Xerxes had left Governour of the Chersonesus, undertook to defend the Place, although he was unprepar'd to hold out against à Siege; for the Persians little expected any Attempts of the Enemy on that side. The Athenians, despairing of being Masters of the Town, the Season being very far advanc'd; were very earnest to sail home; but their Commanders refolv'd not to stir, till they had taken Seftus, or were remanded home by the State. In a little time, the Besieg'd, for want of Provision, were forc'd to make their Escape out of the Town by Night: the next Morning the Athenians, having Notice of the Flight of the Enemy, from the Inhabitants of the Chersonesus, enter'd the Gates, and purfued the Persians to the River Ægos, where they kill'd most of them, and took the rest Prisoners, and amongst them Artayetes and his Son. Xanthippus order'd his Son's Eyes to be thrust out in his Father's Presence, and Artayetes himself to be impal'd (c).

Xanthippus, having thus taken Sestus, Winter'd there with his Fleet (d), and, in the following Spring, sail'd home, laden with the Spoils, which he had taken in the Hellespont. The Athenians now convey'd their Families home from Trazen, and Salamis, and other neighbouring Islands, wherein they had been plac'd during the War; and although the greatest part of their Houses, except such as the Persians had sav'd for their own Use, were either burn'd or pull'd down, yet they were resolv'd, for their common Sasety and Desence, to raise Fortisications about their City, before any private Build.

⁽c) Herodot. 1.9 c. 119. (d) Thucyd. 1.1.

ings for their Families. The Lacedamonians refented this more than all the rest of the Peloponnefians, because their own City, being without Walls, lay open and defenceles: wherefore they immediately sent Ambassadours to Athens, to desire the Athenians to defift from their Undertaking, and to perswade them, that it was more for the common Interest of the Grecians in general, and of the Athenians in particular, that the Fortifications of all the Cities without Peloponnesus should be demolish d: in the mean time, dissembling their own private Jealoufy, and pretending, that, if the Persians should invade Greece a third time, Athens would become a Garrison for the Enemy, as Thebes had been in their last Expedition; and alledging withal, that Peloponnesus would be large enough to contain the whole Nation of the Grecians, and the fafelt Place they could fly to for Refuge. The Spartan Ambassadours, at the Perswasion of Themistocles, were dismiss'd with this Answer, That they would very speedily send Ambassadours to Sparta, on purpose to debate that Subject.

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Themistocles, procuring himself to be chosen Ambassadour with Abronycus and Aristides, himself went directly to Sparta, ordering his Collegues not to follow him, till they thought the Walls were high enough to defend them against an Enemy. In the mean time, all Persons of whatsoever Age or Quality were oblig'd to affift in the Work. They spar'd no place, whether facred or profane, publick or private, but took from all parts what Materials would most conduce to the Fortifications; infomuch that their Walls were built with the Ruins of their Temples and Monuments. Themistocles, after his Arrival at Sparta, deferr'd having Audience of the Ephori, as long as he could, urging, as an Excuse of his Delay, the Absence of his Collegues, whom he lest detain'd by some necessary Affairs in the City; and, at the same time, pretending to wonder, that they should

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stay so long, and that he expected them every Day. The Lacedemonians upon the account of the Friendship, which had hitherto pass'd between them and Themistocles, did not in the least question the Truth of the Matter, till, by the Arrival of several Persons from Attica, who assur'd them that the Walls were suddainly grown to a considerable Height, their Expectations were converted into vehement Suspicions of Themistocles, who desir'd them not to be impos'd upon by common Fame, but rather to send some of their own Citizens, of experienc'd Honour and Integrity, on whose Word they could depend, to enquire into that Affair, and, in the mean time, himself would be kept as an Hostage till their Return.

Accordingly Three of their Principal Men were fent to Athens, attended by Themistocles's Collegues, who by this time were arriv'd at Sparta, the Walls of Athens being rais'd high enough to defend the City: But Themistocles, fearing lest the Spartans, when they should discover the whole Truth, would not let him go, gave his Collegues private Instructions, that the Lacedemonian Ambassadours should be kept, till he return'd home. When he thought they were arriv'd at Athens, he demanded Audience of the Ephori, and plainly told them, that, by his Advice the Athenians had Wall'd their City, for he thought it but reasonable, that all the confederate Cities in Greece should demolish their Fortifications, or that the Walls of Athens should be finish'd. He then desir'd leave to return home, otherwise they should never receive their own Ambassadours from Athens; and farther reprehended them, for endeavouring to raise their own Power. by weakening that of the Confederates (e). Spartans hereupon shew'd no open Displeasure at the

⁽e) Confer. Thucyd. l. 1. Diod. Sic. l. 11. Plutarch. & Corn. Nep. in Themissocle. Justin. l. 2. c. 15. Jul. Frontin. Stratagem. l. 1. c. 1. Polyan. Stratagem. l. 1. c. 30.

Athenians, for as yet their late Services done against the Persians were not forgotten; nevertheless, being disappointed of their Hopes, they could not but entertain fome fecret Resentments, especially being thus shamefully impos'd upon by Themistocles. He, upon his Return to Athens, considering the manifold Advantage of good Ports to the City, perswaded the Athenians to go on with Building the Piraeus, which they had began when he was Archon, urging the Convenience of the Place, which had three Havens fortified by Nature, and the great Benefit they would find by it, towards enriching the City. The Walls of the Piraeus were already fo thick, that two Carts loaded might pass by one another upon them, but they were not rais'd above half so high as he defign'd them. For his chief Defign being to encrease the Glory of the Athenians by Sea, he wisely confider'd, that by the Strength of their Walls they would be able to defend themselves against any Number, with an Handful of Men, and those such as were of no Use any other way, and by this means there would be more Sea-men to go on Board. The reason why he so much depended on Naval Forces might probably be this, that he observed Greece to lie more open and expos'd, and more liable to an Invalion by Sea, than by Land; and, upon this account, he thought that the Pirceus would be of greater Advantage to the Athenians, than the upper City, and therefore often advis'd them, whenfoever they were oppress'd by Land, to repair thither, and engage the Enemy by Sea.

The fortifying the Piraeus was of very great Importance to the Athenians, but Themistocles had another Expedient, which, if it had taken Effect, must have secur'd the entire Command at Sea in their Hands. The Grecian Fleet, after the Flight of Xerxes, Wintering at Pagasa, or, as some affirm, at Gytheum. Themistocles declar'd in a publick Assembly, that he had a Design which would be of vast Ad-

vantage to the Athenians, but was not fit to be communicated to the publick Assembly of the People. They commanded him to disclose it to Aristides alone in private, and, if he approv'd of it, to put it in Execution. Themistocles then told him, that he had it in his Thoughts to burn the Grecian Fleet; whereupon Aristides reported to the Assembly, that what Themistocles propos'd was certainly most for the Interest of the Athenians, but at the same time the most Unjust thing in the World. The Athenians therefore desir'd Themistocles to lay aside all farther Thoughts of it (f).

Paulanias, being now in great Reputation, upon olymp. the account of his Victory at Platea, was fent abroad A. M. with a Navy confifting of 20 Sail from Peloponnesus, 3527. and was join'd by 30 more from Athens, besides a considerable Number from the other Confederates. With his whole Fleet he fail'd to Cyprus, where he Landed his Forces, and posses'd himself of several Cities, in that Island, of good Importance. From Cyprus he fail'd to Byzantium, then Garrison'd by the Persians; he took the Town, and in it a great Number of the Persian Nobles Prisoners, some of whom were nearly related to the King. Here Pau-Sanias, who was naturally proud and aspiring, but now render'd more intractable by his great Success, first discover'd his ambitious Designs, and long-hidden Inclinations to the Persian Interest. For, by the Assistance of one Gongylus, he sent the Prisoners to the King, pretending to the Confederates, that they had made their Escape. With the Prisoners Gongylus carried a Letter from him to the King, wherein he acquainted him, that as foon as he knew the Prisoners to be related to the King, he imme. diately fent them as a Present to him; desiring thereby to give a Testimony of the Veneration he had for him; and promifing, that if he would give him

⁽f) Plutarch. in Themistocle. Cic. Offic. l. 3. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 5.

his Daughter in Marriage, he would reduce all Greece under his Power. He farther requested, that if he thought these Proposals worth his Consideration, he would fend one of his Ministers, of experienced Fidelity, with whom he should concert Matters. Xerxes was exceedingly well pleas'd with these Proposals, and immediately sent Artabazus, with Letters of Thanks to Pausanias, withal defiring him to spare no Labour or Cost in acting boldly for

the Honour of them both.

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Paulanias was so elevated at the Receipt of this Letter, that he then began more openly to discover his Defigns: for, immediately throwing off his own Country Habit, he put on a Persian Dress, and thus march'd from Byzantium through Thrace, attended with a Persian and Egyptian Retinue. His Table was furnish'd after the Persian Fashion, and he could no longer contain his Thoughts, but would often on light and trivial Occasions discover the vast Defigns, which he had fram'd in his Mind. He became very difficult of Access, and behav'd himself with fo much Insolence and Passion, towards all Persons, without Distinction, that no Man could Converse familiarly with him. Besides all this, he was very cruel and imperious towards all the Confederates in general; but, the Ionians especially, and as many as had lately revolted from the King, foon felt the Effects of his Insolence, which was such, as rather became a Tyrant, than a General. This forc'd them to fue to the Athenians, for Protection against the Oppression of Pausanias: They, who let slip no Opportunity of establishing their Interest in the Confederacy, promis'd to defend them. In the mean time the News of Paulanias's Male-Administration reach'd Sparta; whereupon he was immediately call'd home to give an Account of his Actions. When he arriv'd at Sparta, he was found guilty of the Injuries committed against private Persons, but was acquitted of his greatest Crime, Treason against his Country,

It was not long before Pausanias, who was lately call'd home, privately went on board a Galley of Hermione, to the Hellespont, and enter'd Byzantium. During his stay here, he is said to have carried on an Intrigue with one Cleonice, a young Lady of a good Family; whom, as she came to his Bed-side, he unfortunately kill'd. This Fact, together with his former Practises, so enrag'd the Consederates, that they immediately besieg'd him in Byzantium, under the Conduct of Cimon. He, having surmounted the dissiculties, wherewith he was surrounded during his Youth, was now in great Esteem with the Athevians, and join'd Collegue to Aristides. His Father Mil-

the beginning of their Greatness in the present Age,

fo it occasion'd their Ruine in the next.

Miltiades dying in Prison, before he could pay the Fine laid upon him by the Athenians, for his unfortunate Expedition against Paros; Cimon, that he might procure his Father's Body Interment, which by the Athenian Laws could not be granted till the Common-wealth had security for the Debt, voluntarily undertook to discharge the Fine, and was committed to Custody. Here he lay till one Callias, who had rais'd a great Estate out of the Golden Mines, offer'd to pay the Fine for him, if he would give him in Marriage Elpinice, his Sifter by another Venter, who was already Married to Cimon: for Solon's Laws permitted, that a Brother and Sifter by the same Father should Marry. Cimon rejected these proposals, but Elpinice declar'd the would not fuffer the Son of Miltiades to perish in Chains, and, fince it lay in her power to prevent it, would Marry Callias, if he would perform his Promise. Cimon, soon after his enlargement, became very confiderable in the State (g), Aristides always encouraging, and advancing him to Places of Honour and Authority, that he might make use of him, in withstanding the Power and Cunning of Themistocles (h). Pausanias, all this while, was distracted with remorfe at his late Murder, and continually haunted with Cleonice, who appear'd to him in the Night, threatning him with Justice for the Injuries he had done to Her. Being forc'd out of Byzantium by Cimon, he fled to Heraclea, where he conjur'd the Ghost of Cleonice to tell him what he should do to appeale Her. She appearing, told him that in a short time he should be deliver'd out of all his Troubles at Sparta, thereby obscurely intimating his Death, which accordingly fell out not long after (i). Others affirm, that he Fled from Byzantium to Colonæ, a Town of Troas, where he continued, carrying on his Designs with

⁽g) Gorn. Nep. in Cimone. (h) Plutarch in Cimone. (i) Plutarch. ibidem. Confer. Pausan. in Laconicis.

the King of Persia, till the Ephori, being no longer able to connive at his proceedings, fent an Herald to him with the Scytale (k), wherein they wrote to him, that unless he return'd home, they would condemn him to Death. Pausanias, endeavouring to decline Suspicion as much as he could, return'd to Sparta a second time; and he was in hopes, that, either by the Authority which he had in the City, or by Bribery, he should divert the present Danger. The Ephori, immediately after his Return, committed him to Custody, but he having soon procur'd his Liberty, offer'd himself to Justice, and Challeng'd all Persons to appear, who had any thing to alledge against him. But although there was not sufficient evidence to Condemn one that was of the Royal Blood, and at that time in great Authority, yet, by his licentious behaviour, and affectation of the Barbarian Customs, he gave great reason to suspect, that he did not intend to live long in his present Condition.

Not long after this he endeavour'd ro raise an Infurrection, promising the Helota, not only their Liberty, but also Freedom of the City, if they would join with him. And notwithstanding he was impeach'd by some of the Helotæ themselves, the Ephori would not yet openly proceed against him, the Evidence of Slaves being insufficient to convict any Man; and they were forbidden by an ancient Law, to give a peremptory Sentence against a Spartan without unquestionable Proof. At length, Pausanias, sending Letters again to the King, was betray'd by one Argilius, who had formerly been his Minion, and very faithful to him. Argilius, having observ'd that none of the former Messengers, whom Pausanias had fent to the King, were yet return'd, suspected that they were Murder'd, and that if he carried the Letter to the King, he should undergo the same Fate. Wherefore breaking open Pausanias's

⁽k) Concerning the Seytale fee Archaelog. Gr. l. 3. c. 13.

Letter, he found the Contents to be as he suspected, and immediately carried the Letter to the Ephori. who, though they were fully convinc'd of the Treasonable Intention of Pausanias, were still desirous to hear fomething themselves from his own Mouth. Hereupon it was concerted that, Argilius should Fly for Sanctuary to the Temple of Neptune at Te. narus, where the Ephori hid themselves in a place under Ground near the Altar, whence they could easily hear any discourse that was held above with Argilius. Pausanias, hearing that Argilius had taken Sanctuary at Tanarus, went to him, and demanded the reason of it. Argilius then told him what he had read in his Letter, whereupon, Pausanias, being in a greater Consternation than ever, conjur'd him by the former Friendship which had past between them, that he would not betray him, giving him the utmost Affurance that he should be Safe, if he would quit his Sanctuary, and defiring him to go on his Journey to Persia with all Speed, and not to frustrate his Defign.

The Ephori, being thus fully inform'd of Pausanias's treasonable Practices, from his own Mouth, still forbore feizing him in the Temple, as thinking it more Advisable to apprehend him in the City. Pausanias, whilst he was in his way to Sparta, suspecting, by the Countenance of one of the Ephori, that they had fome Design against him, and another of them out of Kindness signifying to him, by the Motion of his Head, that he should make his Escape, immediately fled for Sanctuary to the Temple of Minerva Chalciacus. The Ephori hereupon block'd up the Doors of the Temple, and stripp'd the Roof, that he might be expos'd to the Inclemency of the Air, and plac'd a Guard about the Temple, so that he could not possibly make his Escape. It is said, that Pausanias's own Mother, who was then very Old, being inform'd of the Practices of her Son, brought a Stone to the Entrance of the Temple, to obstruct his Passage (1). In a sew Days, being almost starv'd with Hunger, he was brought out of the Temple, and immediately expir'd. Some were very earnest that his Body should be thrown into the Ceadas, where they cast their common Malesactors, but it was thought more Advisable, that he should be buried in some Place thereabout. He was afterwards, at the Command of the Delphian Oracle, remov'd to the Entrance of the Temple, the Place wherein he died: and, because they had been guilty of profaning the Sanctuary, by taking Pausanias by Force out of the Temple, the Oracle sarther commanded the Spartans to render Two Bodies to Minerva Calciacus, for One. Whereupon they erected two Brazen Statues, and dedicated them to the Goddess, in

Memory of Pausanias.

Thus did Pausanias fall a Sacrifice to his own Pride and Ambition. He was a great Man, but changeable and inconstant in every Condition of Life; for, as he was endued with many Virtues, fo he was enflav'd to as many Vices (m). From all the Accounts that are left concerning him, he appears to have been rather a Souldier than a Statesman: His Victory at Platea was the greatest, that had ever been obtain'd by any Grecian. Which as it in a great measure deliver'd Greece from the Persians, so it involv'd him in all the Troubles which afterwards befel him. For being unable to bear his Success. he immediately began to discover a vast Ambition. This amongst other Things, remarkably appear'd by that vain-glorious Inscription, which he caus'd to be engraven on the Tripos, dedicated by the Grecians to the God at Delphi, as the First-fruits of the Spoils taken from the Persians, wherein was this Sentence, That the Barbarians were defeated at Plataa by his Conduct, and that in Memory of the Victory he dedicated the Tripos to Apollo. The Lacedamo-

⁽¹⁾ Corn. Nep. in Pausania. (m) Corn. Nep. in Pausania.

nians presently ras'd this Inscription, and having engrav'd upon the Tripos the Names of all the Confederate Cities, that join'd in the Defeat of the Barbarians, dedicated it to Apollo in their Names (n). His Ambition still encreas'd with his Success, so that, when he had taken Bizantium, nothing less than the Government of Greece could fatisfy him, which being unable to obtain by his own, he endeavour'd to call in a forreign Power, and was content to govern as Deputy under the King of Perfia, rather than not at all. Having contracted a Friendthip with the Persian, so he soon degenerated from the Spartan Severity, and learnt the Persian Manners. He became loofe and effeminate, and wholly abandon'd himself to Luxury and Ease, and at last stain'd all the former Reputation, which he had acquir'd

in War, by an inglorious Death.

In the mean time, the Athenians, finding the whole Charge of the War devolv'd upon them, impos'd upon every Confederate City its Quota of Men and Money, and appointed what Number of Ships should be built for the general Defence of Greece, and for recovering those Places on the fide of Europe, and also in Asia, which the Persians had taken in the late War. To collect this Money were appointed certain Officers, who, from their gathering this Tax from the Tributary Cities of Greece, were nam'd Exprogaulas. This Tribute, the first that ever was paid by the Grecians, amounted to 460 Talents, which were deposited in the Island Delos; it was levied by Ariftides, at the Request of the Confede. rates, who relied upon his Integrity, that it should be employed to the Ends for which it was given. But, as by the honest and prudent Management of Aristides, and other worthy Citizens, this prov'd of great advantage to the Athenians, so afterwards, when the Athenian Vertue began to be corrupted,

⁽n) Thucyd, t. 1. Corn, Nep. in Pausania.

and transported it from Delos to Athens (o).

Leotychides, King of Sparta, upon his return home from the Hellespont, was fent upon an Expedition against the Alenada of Theffaly, who had made the first compliance with the King of Persia in the late War. Here, after he had been attended with very good Success, and when he had it in his power to have Subdued Thessaly, he was corrupted by the Alenada, and was taken in his own Tent, holding Bribes in both his Hands. Hereupon he was call'd home to Sparta, from whence he made his escape to Teges, where he Died in Banishment (p). His own Son Zeuxidamus Dying before the Throne became vacant, his Grandson Archidamus, the Son of Zeuxidamus, fucceeded to the Kingdom whilft Leotychides liv'd in Banishment at Tegea. About the same time Pli-Starchus, the Son of Leonidas, Dying without Isfue, Pliftoanax, the Son of Pausanias, then a Minor, being next Heir to the Crown, and of the Elder Family, fucceeded likewife to the Kingdom, Nicomedes, the Son of Cleombrotus, and Uncle to the young King, being his Protector, and and an as harman

And now Themistocles, notwithstanding the great Services he had done for his Country, fell under the same sufficient that Militades formerly had done,

⁽o) Corn. Nep. in Aristide. (p) Confer. Herodot. l. 6. c. 728 Pausan. in Laconicis.

and was expel'd the City by Oftracifm. From Athens he Fled to Argos, where he refided for the most part, though he often vifited the other Parts of Pelopomefus. Whilft he was in Banishment at Argos, the Lacedamonians sent Ambassadours to Atbens, to impeach him of being in the Persian Interest: For Paufanias, though at first he conceal'd his Design from Themistocles, notwithstanding there was some Friendthip between them, yet now feeing him Banish d by his ungrateful Fellow Citizens, he did not in the least doubt that he would engage him in the same Practifes with himself, and thereupon shew'd him the King's Letter, endeavouring, at the same time, to exasperate him against the Grecians, as perfidious and ingrateful. Themistocles, though he refusit to be concern'd in this Defign, yet did not discover Passfanias, in hopes that he would alter his Resolution, of be convicted some other way; it being impossible to carry on fuch an Enterprize undiscover'd. The Spartans, having proceeded against Paufanias, found some Letters of Themistocles to him, wherein although it is probable they found nothing plain enough to convict him, yet, a bare Correspondence with a Traytor was sufficient to render him suspected. But, whether Themistocles, was really guilty or not, the Lacedamonians were glad of this pretence, that they might impeach him. He had ever fince the Persians retir'd out of Greece, oppos'd the Ambitious designs of Sparta, and they thought, that, if they could once remove him out of the way, they should more easily obtain their ends. They had not forgot his late Artifices where with he deluded them, whilft the Walls of Athens were Built, and what might probably inflame their Resentments, was this. When the Lacedamonians propos'd, that, all the Grecian Cities which had affisted the Persians, or refus'd to come in to the Grecian Confederates, in the late War, should be excluded the General Council of Greece, Themistocles foreseeing, that the Lacedamonians Z 2

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356 The History of GREECE. Book III. monians, having the fole Influence over most of the Cities in Peloponnesus, if they gain'd very few of the

other Cities without Peloponne jus to their party, would carry matters as they pleas'd, oppos'd this delign with all his might, as directly tending to subject all Greece to Sparta (q); and this Project was defeated

by the fole management of Themistocles.

The Athenians, being now more incens'd against him than before, immediately condemn'd him to Death, and fent out some Persons to apprehend him, and bring him to Athens. Themistocles, being no longer able to continue in Safety at Argos, fled from thence to Corcyra, in hopes that, in Gratitude to him for some former Services which he had done to that Island, the Inhabitants thereof would proted him. For when the other Grecians would have destroy'd the Corcyreans, for their Treachery, in not affilling against the Barbarians; Themistocles oppos'd this Refolution, fo that by his means the Corcyreans were spar'd (1). At another time when the Corinthians and Corcyreans were at Variance about the City Leucas, Themistocles being constituted Arbitrator between them, order'd the Corinthians to pay the Corcyreans 20 Talents, and that both of them should polless the Colony of Leucas in common (f). Notwithstanding all this, the Corcyreans, lest they should incur the Hatred both of the Athenians and Lacedemonians, transported him to Epirus; where, being still closely pursued, he was forc'd to fly for Refuge to Admetus, King of Molossus, whom, although he had formerly, in the height of his Greatness at Athens, rejected with great Scorn, when he came to defire the Assistance of the Athenians, yet he chose rather to expose himself to the old Resentments of Admetus, than to the implacable Malice of the Athenians. Admetus not being then at home, Phthia the Queen advis'd him to take their little Son in his Arms, and place

⁽q) Plutarch. in Themistocle. (r) Scholinst, in Thucyd, l. 1. (f) Plutarch, in Themistocle.

himself at the Hearth, which being the Altar of the Household Gods, was held inviolable amongst the Molossans, and therefore they thought that the Suppliants that fled thither for Sanctuary were not to be denied (t). In this Posture stood Themistocles, when Admetus return'd home, fo that, when the Athenians came to demand him, Admetus refus'd to deliver him, but fent him to Pydna, a City, upon the Agean Sea, belonging to Alexander King of Macedon; where finding a Ship bound for Ionia, he went on Board, and was driven by Storm upon the Athenian Fleet, which then lay at the Siege of Naxos. Hereupon he discover'd himself, and the reason of his Flight to the Master, promising him a very great Reward if he would fave him, otherwise he would pretend that he was brib'd to carry him away. The Master, being mov'd with Compassion at the hard Usage of this great Man, lay one whole Day and Night at Anchor, at some Distance from the Atbenian Fleet, during which time no man was fuffer'd to go out of the Ship, and with the first fair Wind fail'd to Ephefus (u).

Here Themistocles landed, and, having liberally rewarded the Master, made the best of his way into the inland Parts of Asia, accompanied by a Persian, who was Governour of the Maritime Provinces. Then he wrote a Letter to Artaxerxes lately come to the Crown of Persia, his Father Xerxes having been murder'd by Artabanus (x). The Letter was to this effect, "That Themistocles, who had done the "greatest Mischief to his Family, when he was "under a Necessity of defending his own Country, "from the Attempts of his Father, now fled to him "for Refuge, in hopes that the Kindnesses, which he "had afterwards shewn to his Father, would merit

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⁽t) Confer Thucyd. l. 1. Plutarch. & Gorn. Nep. in Themistocle. (u) Thucyd. l. 1. Gorn. Nep. in Themistocle. (x) Confer Justin. l. 3. c. 1. Diod. Sic. l. 11. Ctesias in Persicis, c. 29. Gorn. Nep. de Regibus.

"his Favour. For, when he had deliver'd his own Country, his Father then being in Danger, and unwilling to return into Asia, notwithstanding his Defeat at Salamis, then Themistocles fent to inform him, that unless he made all possible Speed to the Hellespont, the Bridge, which had been laid over it, would be broken down, and himself surrounded by his Enemies; and by this Meffage he escap'd that Danger. Being now perfecuted by the Grecians for his Friendship to him, he desired his Protection; He added, that it was in his Power to do him very eminent Services; and farther requested a Year's Time, which being expir'd, he would then, if the King pleas'd to admit him into his Presence, tell him by his own Mouth the Cause of his coming ().

The King, being extreamly pleas'd with this Letter, and the Arrival of Themistocles, granted his Request. He spent one Year in learning the Persian Language, in which Time he became so perfect in it, that when he came to the King, he spake better than the very Natives of Persia. Amongst many other things, he promifed to reduce Greece under the Persian Government, the Hopes of which so ingratiated him to the King, that he not only made him very large Presents, but gave him Magnesia, which paid him the yearly Tribute of 50 Talents, wherewith he furnish'd his Table with Bread, Lampfacus, to supply him with Wine, and Myuns with Meat, and as some farther add, Percope and Palæscepsis, from whence he might have Cloaths and Beds (2). About Five Years after his Banishment from Athens, he was feiz'd by a violent Distemper, of which he died, at Magnesia, which he made the chief Place of his Residence, after his Flight into Perfia, being, according to Plutarch, 65 Years Old. There was a common Report, that he poison'd him-

⁽y) Thucyd. l. 1. Corn, Nep. in Themistocle, (z) Plutarch. in Themistocle, felf

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felf, because he despair'd of performing the Promise he had made, to subdue Greece. A very stately Monument was erected to him at Magnesia; and his Relations, at his Defire, are faid to have remov'd his Bones from thence, and buried them in Attica, unknown to the Athenians, it being unlawful to bury one there, who had been banish'd for Trea-

fon (a).

This was the unfortunate End of the great Themistocles. He was one, who from a very obscure Birth, became the most Considerable Man in the State, his Father Neocles being a Citizen of no great Note, and his Mother a Native of Halicarnassus. It was esteem'd a very great Disgrace not to be born of Athenian Parents, Themistocles therefore, to take away this Reproach, perswaded some young Noblemen of Athens to exercise themselves in the Cynofarges, a Gymnasium at Athens, peculiarly appointed for those who were of forreign Birth, either by the Father or Mother's side, and by this means destroy'd the Distinction between those, who were born of Athenian and forreign Parents (b). When he was a Boy he gave many early Indications of a great Mind, and a vehement Defire to perform great Actions. Whatsoever time he spar'd from his Books, he spent not like other Boys of his Years, in Play and Diversion, but was often found by himself Meditating, and composing Orations, the Subject of which was generally either against, or in Defence of Boys. Whereupon his Master frequently said to him, Boy, thou canst not be any thing mean, but wilt certainly prove a great Blessing, or a great Plague, to thy Country. As to the Liberal Sciences, and other Accomplishments, wherein the Young Gentlemen of Athens were wont to be instructed, he was very indifferent to them, and took them very flowly; but, for any thing that related to Politicks, he shew'd such a

⁽a) Confer Thucyd. l. 1. Corn. Nep. & Plutarch, in Themistocle. (b) Plutarch, in Themistocle,

⁽c) Plutarch. ibid. (d) Gic. in lib. de claris Orator. (e) Corn. Nep. in Themistocle. (f) Thucyd. l. 1. Corn. Nep. in Themistocle. (g) Cic. de Senettute. (h) Idem de Oratore l, 2, Academ. Qu. l. 4. de finibus B. & M. l. 2.

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He was, from his Youth, Fir'd with an Ambition of performing Great and Memorable Actions, and after the Battle of Marathon, wherein he, being then very Young, Fought in Person with Great Bravery against the Barbarians, he was observ'd to be very thoughtful, and to forfake his usual Company; he often past whole Nights without Sleep in the publick Walks; whereupon being askt the Occasion of this suddain Change of his former Course of Life, he replied, that Miltiades's Victory would not let him Sleep (i): He was no less remarkable for Stratagem, than for his Valour, he knew how to Deceive, as well as to Beat an Enemy, infomuch that Xerxes, with all his vast Forces, was not so much Conquer'd by the Arms of Greece, as by the Cunning of Themistocles (k). After he had won that remarkable Battle at Salamis, whereby he fav'd all Greece from the Persians, being unable to bear his Success with that Temper which was remarkable in Miltiades; he Lov'd to be Admir'd, and to hear himself Commended. Being askt whose Voice he delighted most to hear, he answer'd, His that set off his Vertues best (1). And, at the Celebration of the Olympick Games, after his Victory at Salamis, when all the Spectators, neglecting the Sports, fixt their Eyes upon him, fome of them Pointing at him, and shewing him to those who did not know him, he told his Friends, that he had receiv'd a sufficient Recompence for all the Services he had done for Greece *. He affected to appear Great, being always attended with a fine Equipage, which though the People bore with in Cimon, and Others of Noble Families, yet they thought it very presuming and indecent in him, who was of Ignoble Birth (m). He was always very intent upon getting Money, whereupon some have not scrupled to Charge him with Covetuousness, which others

⁽i) Plutarch. in Themistocle & Apophthegm. Cic. Tusc. Qu. l. 4. (k) Corn. Nep. in Themistocle. (1) Cic. Orat. pro Arch. Poeta. Plutarch. in Themistocle. (m) Idem shidem.

endeavour to excuse, upon the account of his frequently Sacrificing, and making Entertainments. However this be, he kept himself in the Affections of the generality of the People, partly by his Popularity, for he us'd to falute every Citizen by his Name, and partly by his Impartial Administration of Justice between Man and Man. When Simonides the Poet defir'd him to do something unjust, he told him, that he was not a good Poet, if he did not observe Numbers; neither should be be a good Magistrate, if he acted any thing contrary to the Laws (n). But however exact he might be in dispensing Justice between private Men, yet when the Publick Interest was to be advanc'd, it is too Notorious, that he did not much regard what means he us'd to promote it. This was one great Occasion of that constant Enmity between him and Arifides, who though they were never Heartily reconcil'd to each Other, yet this lustice must be done to them Both, that they always Sacrific'd their Private resentments to the Common Quarrel, and never suffer'd them to hinder the Publick good. That extraordinary Love, which both of them bore to their Country, would not let them a& any thing to its Prejudice, which Themistocles fufficiently testified, if that be true which some report concerning him, that he Poison'd himself rather than he would Lead the King's Army against Greece. He was a Man of quick and ready Wit, and often filenc'd his Adverfaries by sharp and unexpected Replies, by which he frequently obtain'd his Ends, more eafily than others have done by the most Solemn and Studied Discourses. He was one of as Great natural Endowments as Athens ever bred, and though he did not make those Advantages of a Liberal Education, which others did, yet very few have Shone with Greater Lustre in the Grecian Story.

'Tis now time to return to the Hellespont. And here, the Athenians, being Strengthen'd by the late Accession of the Confederates to them, after they had Settled the Tribute, carried the War into Thrace, under the conduct of Cimon; who, being inform'd that some Persians, related to the King, had Posses'd themselves of Eion, Situated upon the River Strymon, from whence they infested the Grecians Bordering upon them, first Beat the Persians in the open Field, and Forc'd them into the Town: Then he fell upon the Thracians themselves, who had supplied the Persians with Provisions, and drove them out of their Country, whereof he posses'd himself as Conqueror. Notwithstanding this Butes, or, as Herodotus calls him, Boges, who commanded at Eion for the King, rejecting the Proposals which the Athenians made to him, that he should march out of the Town with all the Marks of Honour, and return into Asia, chose rather to hold out to the last, that his Master should not think that he quitted its Defence out of Fear of the Enemy. At length, the Besieg d' being reduc'd to the utmost Streights for want of Provision, the Athenians having cut off all Communication from the Town, Boges kill'd his Wife and Children that were with him, and the rest of his Family, and threw them upon a Funeral Pile which he had erected; and cast whatsoever Treasure there was in the City into the River Strymon; and last of all threw himself upon the Pile. The King of Persta retain'd fuch a grateful Sense of this Action, that Boges's Children who furviv'd were in greatest Esteem with him of all the Persians (o). Cimon, though he took the Town, got no great Booty, most of the Barbarians, and the richest of their Moveables being consum'd in the Fire: however he gave the Country about it, which was very pleasant and fruitful, to the Athenians. For this Action the People

⁽⁰⁾ Confer Herodot, l.7. c. 107. Polyan Stratagem, l. 7. c. 24. Plutarch, in Cimone.

364 The History of GREECE. Book III. permitted him to erect Stone Mercuries at Athens; though Cimon's Name was not mention'd in any of the Inscriptions, yet they past amongst the Men of his own Time as erected to his Honour. This was a Favour never done to any Man before Cimon; his Father Miltiades, and Themistocles never obtain'd the like. When Miltiades desir'd only a Crown of Olive, one Sochares of Decelea stood up in them idst of the Assembly, and spake these Words, which were very much applauded by the People, When thou shalt Conquer alone, Miltiades, thou shalt Triumph fo too. What then induc'd them so particularly to honour Cimon, might probably be this, that under other Commanders they stood upon the defensive, but under him they not only repuls'd their Enemies, but

invaded them in their own Country (p).

Having taken Eion, they fail'd to the Island Scyrus, where the Dolopes then liv'd. They were a very flothful People, whose only Course of living was Piracy, for which they were fo notorious, that they rifled those that traded to their own Ports, against all the Laws of Commerce. They not only spoil'd some Thessalian Merchants of their Goods, but confin'd their Persons: These afterwards breaking out of Prison, went and demanded Justice of the Amphyclyones, who, maturely weighing the Fact, condemn'd the Island in a great Pecuniary Mul&. The People of Scyrus being unwilling to pay a part of the Fine, commanded the Dolopes, who were enrich'd with the Plunder, to refund, and thereupon wrote to Cimon to succour them with his Fleet against the Dolopes, declaring themselves ready to deliver the Town into his Hands. Cimon, as Plutarch affirms, by these means made himself Master of the Island, and having expell'd the Dolopes, open'd the Traffick of the Agean Sea. After this he endeavour'd to find out Thefeus's Tomb, who, when he fled from

⁽p) Plutarch, ibidem,

Athens, took Refuge in this Island, and was kill'd by Lycomedes King of it; for the Athenians were commanded by an Ancient Oracle to bring home his Ashes, and to honour him as an Hero. They could not for a long time discover where he was interr'd, the Inhabitants of Scyrus having for many Ages dissembled their Knowledge of it, and being unwilling that they should search, because the Athenians had receiv'd an Answer from the Oracle, that Scyrus could not be taken, till Theleus's Bones were brought to Athens (q). At length, after diligent Enquiry, Cimon found the Tomb, and then, according to Pau-Sanias, having taken Scyrus, carried the Relicks into his own Galley, and with great Pomp brought them into Athens. This Discovery so endear'd Cimon to his Citizens, that to perpetuate the Memory of it, they appointed that famous Contention between the two Tragedians, Aschylus and Sophocles, wherein the latter being then very young, and presenting his first Play, obtain'd the Victory; whereupon Ajchylus is faid to have left the City in great Indignation, and went to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near Gela (r).

After the Expulsion of the Dolopes out of the Island Scyrus, the Athenians made an Attempt upon Carystus in Eubaa, which City soon came to a Treaty. After this the Island Naxos, which had revolted, was in a very short time reduc'd, the Metropolis, of the same Name with the Island, being taken. This was the first of the Greek Cities, which the Athenians enslav'd (s); but after it others underwent the same Fate, because they sent not their full Tribute, or their appointed Number of Ships, or refused to serve in the War, when the Athenians requir'd them. For the Athenians, in the Weight of their Power and Greatness, exacted their Quota's with great Severity, and compell'd by Force of Arms such as resus'd to

⁽q) Pausanias in Laconicis. (r) Plutarch, in Cimone. (s) Thueyd. 1. 1.

The History of GREECE. Book III. fend them. The Allies, being now weary of the War, defir'd some Intervals of Repose, that they might apply themselves to Husbandry and Traffick. For they faw the Enemy driven out of their Country, and did not fear any new Invasion. Nevertheless they still paid their Tribute, but refus'd to fend Men and Galleys, as they had done before. This the other Athenian Generals constrain'd them to by rigorous ways, till at last they render'd their Government uneafy and hateful to the Confederates : but Cimon us'd a quite contrary Method; he forc'd no Man to go, that was not willing, but of those that defir'd to be excus'd from Service, he took Money, and Veffels unmann'd, permitting the Men to stay at home, and follow their several Employments. Ease and Luxury foon diffolv'd and enervated those, who refus'd to ferve in the War, whereas the Athenians being always on board upon some Expedition or other, and under strict Discipline, were inur'd to Hardship; so that the Allies first began to dread and then to flatter them, till they fell to that Degree of Subjection, that of Allies they almost became Tributaries and Slaves. And, the Athenians still making greater Encroachments upon them, the Allies them. felves at length found their Mistake, and endeavour'd to shake off the Yoke (t), as will afterwards be related.

Cimon, being inform'd that the Persian Land Army, and Fleet lay not far distant from each other, upon the Coast of Pamphylia, hoisted Sail from Triopium and Gnidos, with 200 Galleys that were swift Sailers, in order to intercept them before they enter'd the Sea, that lies between the Chelidonian Islands. In his way he touch'd upon Phaselis, a Town of Pamphylia, then inhabited by Greeks, who, being in the Persian Interest, denied his Navy Entrance into their Harbour. Hereupon, Cimon wasted their Territo-

⁽t) Confer Thucyd. l. I. Plutarch, in Cimone.

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ries, and made an Assault upon their Walls: but some Soldiers of Chios, who were then listed under Cimon, being ancient Friends to the Inhabitants of Phaselis, interceded with the General in their behalf, and in the mean time shot Arrows into the Town, to which were fasten'd Letters of Intelligence, giving them an Account of the State of Affairs, and at length procur'd a Peace to be concluded upon these Terms, that they should pay down to Talents, and join their Forces with Cimon against the Bar-

barians (u).

The Persian Fleet, which (as some report) confifted of 600, or, according to the most sparing Account, of 350 Sail, lay at Anchor, upon the Mouth of the River Eurymedon, without any Intention to fight, because they expected a Reinforcement of Phenician Ships from Cyprus, and, upon Sight of the Grecian Fleet, retir'd within the Mouth of the River, to prevent their being attackt. Cimon, being resolv'd to engage them before they were join'd by the Phanicians, forc'd them to a Battle, wherein the Persians presently turn'd the Prows of their Ships towards the Shore; where those that came first threw themselves upon the Land, and fled to their Army drawn up thereabout, and the rest either perish'd with their Ships, or were taken. And by this we may guess that their Number was very great, for though many of their Ships escap'd out of the Battle, and many others were funk, yet 200 were taken by the Athenians. After this Defeat, the Perfian Land Forces advancing towards the Sea-side, Cimon was in suspence whether he should make a Descent or not; for, thereby he should expose his Greeks, wearied with Slaughter in the Sea-Engagement, to the Swords of the Barbarians, who were all Fresh-Men, and superior to them in Number: however, feeing his Men resolute, and flush'd with

⁽u) Plutarch. in Cimene.

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Victory, he order'd them to land. As foon as they touch'd ground, they fet up a great Shout, and ran furiously upon the Enemy, who stood firm and fultain'd the first Attack with great Resolution, so that the Battle remain'd for some time very doubtful, and many of the Athenians of good Quality, and great Courage were kill'd. At length, having with great Difficulty routed the Barbarians, they plunder'd their Tents and Pavilions, which were full of very rich Spoil. Thus did Cimon in one Day gain two entire Victories (w), wherein he surpass'd that Olymp. of Salamis by Sea, and that of Platea by Land. After A. M. this he fell upon the Phanician Fleet, confisting of 3534. 80 Sail, which lay at the Gulf of Hydra, in order to have join'd the Persians, and surrounded them before they had receiv'd any certain Account of the Persian Navy's being defeated. The Phanicians in this Engagement lost all their Ships, and the greatest part of their Men were either kill'd or drown'd. The Athenians rais'd so much Money from the Spoils of this War, which were publickly fold, that they built the South-wall of the Citadel, and laid the Foundation of the Walls nam'd Maned Exnan, or long Shanks, which join'd the City to the Port. The Place, where they built them, being a moorish Ground, they were forc'd to fink great Weights of Stone to secure the Foundation (x). After this, some Persians having posses'd themselves of the Chersone/us, and call'd in the Inhabitants of the higher Thrace to their Assistance, thought themselves secure against the Attempts of Cimon, who loos'd from Athens with a very small Number of Ships. Cimon notwithstanding fell upon them, and, with only four Galleys, took 13 of the Enemies. Having drove

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out the Persians, and subdued the Thracians, he re-

⁽ w) Confer Diod. Sie. l. 11. Thucyd. l. 1. Juftin. l. 2. c. 15. Plutarch. & Corn. Nep. in Cimone. (x) Plutarch. in Cimone.

Book III. The History of GREECE. 369 duc'd the whole Chersonesus under the Power of the

Athenians (y).

Whilft Cimon was employed here, there happen'd a most dreadful Earthquake at Sparta, which destroyed the greatest part of their Buildings, and above 20000 Men. The Helote, in Conjunction with the Race of the ancient Mellenians, whom the Spartans had formerly enflav'd, took this Opportunity of making an Infurrection, and march'd directly towards Sparta, which, by reason of the late Earthquake, they thought to have found defenceless. But Archidamus, with the small Forces, who surviv'd this general Calamity, being prepar'd to receive them, the Helotæ thought fit to retire, and possess themselves of Ithome, from whence they made frequent Incursions into Laconia. Hereupon the Spartans fent to Athens for Succours, where, notwithstanding Ephialtes protested against sending them any Succours, faying, that they ought not to raife up, or affift a City, that was Rival to Athens, but that now she was down, it was their best way to keep her fo, and break the Pride of Sparta, Cimon obtain'd leave of the People to march out with a numerous Army to their Relief. But the Spartans, being join'd by feveral other of their Confederates, were now superiour to the Enemy: Whereupon they dismis'd the Athenians, out of a Suspicion that they were secretly well affected to the Enemy, pretending that they had no farther Occasion for their Service, their own Forces, in Conjunction with those of the other Allies being sufficient to repel the present Danger (2).

This gave the first Occasion to that inveterate Hatred, which afterwards appear'd between the Athenians and the Spartans. For the Athenians, thinking themselves very contemptuously treated by the Spartans, immediately upon their Return home vented their Anger upon all their own Citizens, who

⁽y) Idem ibidem. (2) Diod. Sic. 1. 11.

any ways favour'd them: and, upon this Occasion, according to Plutarch, banish'd Cimon by Ostracism (a), but according to others this sell not out till afterwards. They thought themselves no longer oblig'd by the General Confederacy, which the Grecians had made against the King of Persia, to continue their Friendship to the Lacedamonians, but enter'd into League with the Argivi, the most implacable Enemies of Sparta; and both of them afterwards receiv'd the Thessalians into a common Alliance with them (b). The Athenians upon this Occasion transported the common Treasury from Delos to Athens, lest the Lacedamonians should

plunder it (c).

The Argivi, at this time, were engag'd in a War with the Inhabitants of Mycenæ, which by reason of its ancient Splendour and Glory refus'd to fubmit to the Government of Argos, as the other Cities of Argolis did, and enjoy'd its own Laws and Liberty. There was a Contention between them, about a certain Temple of Juno, and the Right of Presiding at Another thing, which inthe Nemean Games. cens'd the Argivi against Mycenæ was, that when the Argivi had made a Decree, whereby they prohibited any Succours to be fent to the Lacedamonians at Thermopyle, unless they should have a Share of the Command, Mycenæ alone, of all the Cities in Argolis, fent them a Re inforcement of 80 Men (d). And last of all they suspected, that her Power encreasing, Mycenæ would Contend with them for the Sovereignty. Upon these Considerations the Argivi, having long fince refolv'd to Destroy Mycenæ, thought it the most favourable Opportunity to accomplish their Design, whilst the Spartans, being engag'd at the Siege of Ithome, were unable to fend any Relief to Mycenæ. Having rais'd a confiderable Force from Argos, and their Confederate Cities, they March'd

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⁽a) Plutarch. in Cimone. (b) Thucyd. l.1. (c) Justin. l.3. c.3: (d) Confer Diod. Sic. l. 11. & Pausan. in Argolicis.

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against Mycene; and after they had Beaten the Inhabitants in the open Field, forc'd them to fly into their Walis, and Besieg'd the City. The Besieg'd, for fome time made an obstinate Defence, when at length being reduc'd to the utmost Streights, and no Succours coming from Sparta, Mycenæ was taken by Force. The Argivi enflav'd the Inhabitants, Sacrific'd the Tenth of them to the God, and Demolish'd the City: And thus, as Diodorus affirms, it

lay waste, and uninhabited in his Time (e).

It was now the Fourth Year from the Banishment of Themistocles, when the Great Aristides Died (f). He was endued with as many eminent Vertues as any Man of his Time; the most remarkable whereof were his Justice, and Fidelity to his Country. He was of very mean Birth, and, as some say, of meaner Fortune: yet, the Reputation of his great Probity, and his known Affection to the People, rais'd him to the highest Offices and Employments in the Common-wealth, which he always discharg'd with the utmost Fidelity. He was very Impartial in the Administration of Justice between private Men, yet, as Theophrastus in Plutarch affirms, he committed some Acts of Injustice, when the Necessities of his Country requir'd (g). He was very moderate in his Resentments, as appears by his Behaviour towards Themistocles, his chief Rival in the State, who, though he had fufficiently provok'd Ariftides, by his continually Opposing him, and at length procuring his Banishment; yet, when Themistocles was afterwards Impeach'd, and Cimon and Alemeon, with many others, pleaded very earnestly against him; Ariftides did not embrace this opportunity of Revenging himself upon Themistocles, nor so much as once appear'd against him: for, as he had not envied him in his Prosperity, so he did not insult upon him in his Advertity (b).

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⁽e) Died, Sic. l. 11. (f) Corn. Nep. in Ariftide. (g) Plutarch. in Aristide. (b) Plutarch, in Aristide. He

He was himself, not only very exact, and faithful, in employing the Publick Money to those Uses for which it was given, not enriching himself, as many others did, who bore Offices in the State, with the Spoils of the Publick; but was very fevere, in calling to Account all those, who converted to their own private Use, or embezel'd the Publick Revenues. And it is Recorded of him, as an undeniable Proof of his Honesty, that, notwithstanding the several great Offices he had born in the State, wherein he might eafily have improv'd his Fortune, he Died fo Poor, that he had hardly left enough behind him to Bury him. So that, after his Death, his Daughters were maintain'd, and their Fortunes paid out of the Common Treasury (i). The great Blemish to his Character is, that he Repeal'd Solon's Law, whereby the Onne, who were the lowest Order of the People, were render'd incapable of bearing any Office in the Government (k); and by that means open'd a Door to those greater Innovations, which were afterwards made by Pericles, who introduc'd a confus'd kind of Ochlocracy, whereby the State was endanger'd.

After the Death of Aristides, the Island Thasus revolted from the Athenians, the Occasion whereof was a Controversy which arose about some Places of Trade, and the Golden Mines in the opposite Parts of Thrace (1). The Athenians, having defeated the Thasians in a Sea-Engagement, wherein they took 33 of their Ships, landed in the Island; from whence they sent away 10000 Men, confisting of Athenians and their Confederates, to the River Strymon, to plant a Colony in a Town then call'd Engagement, of Nine-waies, afterwards nam'd Amphipolis. Having possess'd themselves of this Town, which was then inhabited by the Edoni, they for some time held the neighbouring Thracians in quiet Sub-

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⁽i) Plutarch. & Corn. Nep. in Ariftide. (k) Arch. Gr. l. 1. c. 4. (1) Confer Thucyd. l. 1. Plutarch. in Cimone. Diod. Sic. l. 11.

jection; but afterwards, advancing farther into the Heart of the Country, they were defeated by the whole Strength of the Thracians, at Drabescus, a City belonging to the Edoni. The Thasians, in the mean time, having been defeated in feveral Battles, were now closely besieged by the Athenians: whereupon, they fent to Sparta to defire the Affistance of the Lacedamonians, and that they would make an Irruption into Attica. They, at that time being employ'd at the Siege of Ithome, could fend them no Succours, nor give the Athenians any Diversion by invading Attica; fo that the Thasians, after they had held out a Siege of three Years, were oblig'd to furrender upon the following Terms: That they should demolish their Walls, and deliver up all their Ships; that they should pay down the Arrears which were already behind, and, for the future, their wonted Share of the Tribute; and lastly, that they should quit both the Golden Mines, and the Continent of Thrace (m).

Cimon Commanded in this Action, according to Plutarch, who places it before the late ill Treatment of the Athenians by the Spartans, which, as that Author affirms, immediately preceded his Banish. ment. Having reduc'd the Thasians, and, by this Accession of Territories, upon the Continent of Thrace, open'd so fair a Passage into Macedonia, that he might have Conquer'd the greatest part of it; because he neglected this Opportunity, he was suspected of having been corrupted by King Alexander. Hereupon, by the Combination of his Adversaries, he was accused of being false to his Country. Before his Judges he pleaded, that he never made an Interest with the rich Ionians and Thessalians, as others had done, from whence they had reapt both Honour and Profit: but that he had always embrac'd the Friendship of the Macedonians; for as he admir'd, so he wish'd to imitate the Sedateness of

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⁽m) Thucydid. l. 1.

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their Temper, their Temperance, and Simplicity of Life, which he preferr'd to the greatest Riches; though he had always been, and still was Ambitious of enriching his Country with the Spoils of her Enemies. Stisimbrotus, in Plutarch, making mention of his Trial, says, that his Sister Elpinice address herself, in his Behalf, to Pericles, one of the most Vehement of his Prosecutors, who dismiss her with this Answer, Tou are too old, Elpinice, to manage Affairs of this Nature. However, after that he became very mild towards him, and rose up but once all the while to plead against him, which he did then very coldly; so that Cimon hereupon was

acquitted (n).

About the same time that Thasus revolted from the Athenians, the Agineta, the irreconcilable Enemies of Athens, being flush'd by their frequent Successes at Sea, abounding with Money, and depending upon the Strength of their Navy, prepar'd to shake off the Athenian Yoke. Hereupon the Athe. nians, landing in the Island, wasted all before them with Fire and Sword, and laid close Siege to the City Agina, with a delign to demolish it. The Athenians grew every day more Cruel to their Confederates; who now, being very weary of their Government, enter'd into private Counsels of making a general Revolt: And some of them already defpiling the Common-Council of the Confederates, manag'd their Affairs at their own Discretion, independent of the General Council (0). What was the Success of this Enterprize against Agina is uncertain: but it is not improbable, that the Athenians gave over the farther Pursuit of it at present, being engag'd in a more important Attempt against the Perfians.

That Empire, upon the Murder of Xerxes by Artabanus, which, though by some carried about Six Sia.

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⁽¹¹⁾ Plutarch, in Cimone, & Pericle. (0) Died, Sic, l. 11.

Years higher, at which time Themistocles was Banish'd from Athens, Diodorus places in the Year preceding the Revolt of Thafus, was now in a State of Confusion. For the Egyptians, upon the News of Xerxes's Death, immediately made a general Infurrection, being headed by Inarus, the Son of Plammeticbus, and King of the Africans bordering upon Ægypt. Artaxerxes, Sirnam'd Longimanus, from one of his Hands which was longer than the other (p), fucceeded his Father Xerxes in the Kingdom: and, after he had reveng'd his Death upon Artabanus, and his Accomplices, levied an Army confisting of of 300000 Men, to reduce the Rebels to their Obedience, and fent them into Agypt under the Command of his Uncle Achemenes, whom Xerxes had formerly made Governour of that Country. Achemenes, upon his arrival at Agypt, Encamp'd near the City Memphis, upon the River Nile; and, fo foon as he had refresh'd his Troops, wearied with their March, prepar'd to give the Enemy Battle. The Agyptians, having rais'd what Forces they could get out of Africa and Agypt, expected Re-inforcements from the Athenians, whom Inarus, at the first breaking out of the Rebellion, had engag'd to assist him. The Athenians being arriv'd at Egypt, with a Fleet confisting of 200 Sail, a Battle was foon after fought; wherein the Persians, being much superiour to the Enemy in Number, for some time feem'd to have the Advantage in the Fight; when, at length, the Athenians, having repuls'd that Wing, which was planted against them, with great slaughter, the whole Persian Army fell into Disorder, and was put to flight. The Athenians and Agyptians made a terrible Slaughter in the Pursuit, wherein the Per-Jians, having lost the greatest part of their Army, at length made their Escape to Memphis, and possest themselves of that part of the Town, which was

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⁽p) Plutarch, in Artaxerxe.

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call'd the Asuxiv Teix, or White-wall. The Athenians, being flush'd with Victory, laid close Siege to it. It is not improbable, though Diodorus makes no mention of it, that Achemenes was Kill'd, in this Action, by Inarus (q). Artaxerxes, being inform'd of the great Loss that he had sustain'd in this Battle, sent one Megabazus, a Persian, to Sparta, with great Summs of Money, to engage the Lacedamonians to Invade Attica; in hopes, that the Athenians would thereby be oblig'd to quit their Conquests in Agypt, and return Home to defend their own Country. This Design not taking effect, and a great part of the King's Money being spent to no purpose, Megabazus, with what he had lest, return'd to Asia (r).

The following Year Artabazus, and Megabazus, the Son of Zopyrus, were fent into Ægypt, with an Army as numerous as that which was Defeated the last Year. In their way to Egypt they stay'd in Cilicia and Phanicia, where they refresh'd their Army, and order'd the Cyprians, Phanicians, and Cilicians, to build a Navy confifting of 300 Sail, in the Equipping of which, and Exercifing their Men, they spent almost an entire Year: all which time the Athenians lay at the Siege of the White-wall, which the Persians defended with great Bravery. The Navy being Equipp'd, Artabazus and his Collegue, with their Land-Army, march'd through Syria and Phanicia; whilst the Navy fail'd along the Coasts, not far distant from the Army. Upon their arrival at Memphis, the Siege of the White wall was immediately rais'd, both the Athenians and the Agyptians being in a great Consternation at the Approach of the Enemy. The Persians after this thought it their best way, to put an End to the War, if they could, without coming to a Battle. Wherefore, feeing the Athenian Fleet lying in Harbour at the Island Prosopis, they turn'd the Course of the River,

⁽⁹⁾ Confer Herodot. 1.3. c.12. 1.7. c. 7. (1) Confer Thucyd. 1.1. Diod. Sic. 1. 11.

which surrounded the Island. The Agyptians, as soon as they saw the Athenian Fleet ly aground, lest the Athenians to take care of themselves, and made the best Terms they could with the Persians. The Athenians, being thus persidiously Abandon'd by the Agyptians, set Fire to their Ships, to prevent their salling into the Enemy's Hands; and, being not in the least daunted at their present Danger, resolv'd to make as noble a Desence as they could. The Persian Commanders were seiz'd with Admiration of the Courage of the Athenians: they resected on the great Losses, which their Troops sustain'd in the former Deseat, and therefore thought it more Advisable to let them go out of Agypt quiet and unmolested, than run the Hazard of a Battle with

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Thus ended the Athenian Expedition, and the Agyptian Rebellion, against the Persians, after it had lasted, as Thucydides affirms, Six Years. Athenians after they had left Agypt, came fafe to Cyrene. All Ægypt was now reduc'd under the King's Power, except the Fens, which were subject to Amyrtaus. Inarus, the chief Author of the Rebellion, being betray'd to the Persians, was nail'd to a Cross. In the mean time, a Re-inforcement of Athenians and other Confederates, who were Ignorant of what had past, arriv'd with 50 Sail of Ships at Mendesium, one of the Mouths of Nile; where, being attack'd by Land by the Persian Army, and by the Phanician Fleet at Sea, they were forc'd to retire with the Loss of the greatest part of their Navy (t). About this time the Messenians and Helota, who were belieg'd in Ithome, having now held out Ten Years, were forc'd to furrender to the Lacedæmonians upon these Terms; That they should depart out of Peloponnesus, and return no more thither; and that, who foever of them should be

⁽s) Diod. Sic. l. 11. (t) Thucyd. l. 1.

378 The History of GREECE. Book III. taken returning, should be a Slave to him that took him (u).

About the same time Ephialtes the Son of Simonides, rais'd a Sedition at Athens, and perswaded the Populace to diminish the Power of the Senate of Areopagus, by a publick Decree. He accused Cimon of being a Favourer of the Lacedamonians, and an Enemy to the Commons: the chief Ground of this Accufation being that Cimon, from his first Rife in the State, was more respected by the Lacedamonians, than Themistocles, as having always endeavour'd to maintain a good Correspondence between Athens and Sparta: and that he always restrain'd the Commons from encroaching upon the Nobility. The Populace, who were always very inconstant in their Favours. were now very Clamorous against him. These Difcontents were fecretly fomented by Pericles, who was the chief Author of all this Disturbance, Ephialtes, who was more bold and less designing, being only his Instrument. Pericles, who now began to apply himself to the Affairs of State, being uneasy that he was out of Employment, thought the only Method to raise himself was to remove Cimon out of the way. There was an Hereditary Quarrel between their two Families, his Father Xanthippus having always been Rival to Cimon's Father, Miltiades, and the chief Instrument of his Fall. Pericles therefore, who for some time had carefs'd the Commons, and corrupted them with frequent Largesses, made use of his Interest and Authority amongst them, to procure Cimon to be banish'd the City by Offracism; which he accordingly effected (x). As for Ephialtes, he did not escape the deferv'd Punishment of his Seditious Practifes, being Murder'd in the Night (y). It is uncertain who was the Author, of this Murther; fome have infinuated that he was kill'd by Pericles out of Envy to him for his Glory; Ephialtes being a Man

⁽u) Idem. ibidem. (x) Plutarch, in Pericle, & Cimone.

of great Interest in the Commons: But Aristotle as-firms, that he was murder'd by one Aristodicus, of

Tanagra, his inveterate Enemy (2).

After this, the Athenians were engag'd in a War with the Corintbians, and their Confederates of Epidaurus, who taking the Advantage of their prefent Divisions, had levied Forces against them. The Athenians, having defeated them in one Engages ment, with a great Fleet fail'd to Halia, upon the Coast of Trazen, and, landing in Peloponnesus, kill'd a great Number of the Enemy. After which, the Peloponnesians equipping a Fleet, engag'd the Athe. nians, near the Island Gecryphalea, and were beaten with great Loss. The Athenians, being flush'd with these Successes, renew'd the War against Agina, and came to a very sharp Engagement with the Agineta, upon the Coasts of that Island, wherein the Athenians, having taken Seventy of the Enemy's Ships, landed in Ægina, and Besieg'd the City, under the Conduct of Leocrates the Son of Strabus. Hereupon the Peloponnesians transported into Agina 300 heavy arm'd Men, who had before affisted the Corinthians against the Athenians, and posses'd themselves of Geranea, a Promontory lying before the Entrance into the Isthmus (a). The Agineta, being very much broken by their late Defeat at Sea, after the War had lasted Nine Months, were forc'd to submit to the Athenians (b). In the mean time a War broke out between the Corinthians and the Megarenses, about the Limits of their Territories. At first they only made Incursions into each others Country; then they engag'd with small Parties on each fide; at length, the Megarenses, being unable to withstand the Corintbians, abandon'd the Confederacy they had formerly made with the Lacedamonians, and enter'd into League with the Athenians (c), who now having Megara and Pega in their

⁽z) Plutarch, in Pericle. (a) Thucyd. l. 1. (b) Diod. Sic. l. 11. (c) Idem. ibidem.

The History of GREECE. Book III. Hands, built, for the Megarenses, the long Walls from their City to Nisea, and planted a Garrison of their own to defend them (d). And from hence chiefly proceeded that violent Hatred, which afterwards appear'd between the Corinthians and the Athenians.

The Corinthians, and their Confederates, taking the advantage of the Athenians, whose Forces were employ'd at Agina, invaded the Territories of Megara, thinking that the Athenians would not be able to defend them, unless they quitted Agina. But it fell out contrary to their Expectations; for the Athenians did not stir from Ægina, but as many as were left in the City, both old and young, under the Conduct of Myronides, march'd to Megara; where, after an obstinate Fight on both sides, the Athenians defeated the Corinthians, and erected a Trophy. Within twelve Days after this Battle, the Corint bians, who upon their return home were reproach'd by their Fellow-Citizens for their late Defeat, came with a fresh supply, and erected a Trophy opposite to that of the Athenians, as if the Victory in the late Action had been theirs. But the Athenians, making a Sally out of Megara, kill'd those who erected the Trophy, and charging the rest of the Enemy with great Fury, obtain'd another compleat Victory (e). A great part of the Corinthian Army, being closely pursued by the Athenians, fled through mistake into a private Man's Ground, fenc'd in with a great Trench: The Athenians, having block'd up the Entrance with their heavy-arm'd Men, and furrounded them with their light-arm'd Men, Ston'd them to Death. About this time the Athenians began to build their long Walls, from the City down to the Sea; one reaching to the Phalerian Port, the other to the Piracus (f).

⁽d) Thucydid. l. 1. (e) Confer Died. Sic. l. 11. Thucydid. l. 1. (f) Thucydid, ibidem.

Not many Days after the last Battle between the Corinthians and the Athenians, the Phocenses made War upon the Dores, from whom the Lacedamonians Sprung. The Dores built three Cities, Cytinium, Boium, and Erineum, under the Mountain Parna/us, which the Phocenses, having subdued the Dores, now posses'd themselves of. The Lacedemonians. by reason of their near Affinity to the Dores, being oblig'd to affift them, fent Nicomedes, Protectour to their young King Plistoanax, with an Army confisting of 1500 Lacedamonians, and 10000 of their Peloponnesian Confederates, to their Relief. Nicomedes, with these Forces, having defeated the Phocenses, and recover'd the three Cities from them, establish'd a Peace between the two Nations. The Athenians, fo foon as they knew the War between the Phocenfes and the Dores was ended, and that the Lacediemonians were upon their Return home, consulted how they might cut them off in their Passage (g). The Lacedamonians were in great Doubt what way they should return home: they could not fail through the Crissean Gulf, because the Athenians were ready to meet them there. And they could not march home by Land; for, Megara and Pega being Garrison'd by the Athenians, they could not go over Geranea, which was not only a difficult Passage of it felf, but was always guarded by the Athenians. Wherefore they at length refolv'd to march into Baotia, and stay there till they could have an Opportunity of returning home. Some of the Athenians who were disaffected to their present Establishment, wherein the Populace had so great an Influence, and were against building the long Walls, made some private Overtures to the Lacedamonians, in hopes that they would dissolve the Democracy, and demolish the long Walls. The Athenians, in the mean time, suspecting some such Design, levied an Army confisting of about 14000 Men, a great part of which they raised among the Thessalians and the

Argivi, and their other Confederates (b).

The Lacedemonians, hearing what Preparations the Atbenians had made, march'd towards Tanagra, in Baotia, where they were foon met by the Athenians, and came to a very sharp Engagement. The Theffalians, in the heat of the Battle, went over to the Lacedamonians: however, the Athenians and the Argivi made an obstinate Defence, and after a great Slaughter on both Sides, they were parted by the Night. In the mean time, a great Quantity of Provision was coming from Attica to the Athenians; which the Theffalians endeavour'd to intercept in the Night. The Athenians, who guarded the Provisions, being ignorant of the Treachery of the Theffalians, receiv'd them as Friends: but the Theffalians presently falling upon the Athenians, there followed a sharp Conflict between them. The Athenian Army, as foon as they heard of what the Thessalians had done, came up to the Relief of their Country-men, and, having put the Thesalians to flight, pursued them with great Slaughter. Hereupon, the Lacedamonians march d to fuccour the Thesalians: so that the two Armies at length came to a general Battle, wherein after much Blood shed on both fides, a Truce was concluded between them for four Months (i). Thucydides, making mention of this Battle at Tanagra, fays, that the Lacedemomians obtained the Victory, and enter'd Megaris: and, having cut down all the Woods before them, palt through the Isthmus over the Promontory Geranea, and returned home (k).

After this, the Thebans, who had, for some time, been under Disgrace, upon the Account of their joining with Xerxes, in the Persian War, and now found themselves despised, and their Authority dis-

⁽h) Thucyd. l. 1. (i) Died, Sic. l. 11. (k) Thucyd. l. 1. own'd

own'd by the rest of the Baotians, began to consider how they might retrieve their former Glory, and Power of their City; whereupon they defir'd the Affiftance of the Lacedemonians, to reduce all Beotia under the Dominion of Thebes: promising them, that, if they would affift them in this Defign, they would maintain the War against the Athenians at their own Charge, so that the Lacedemonians should have no Occasion for the Future to fend any Land Forces out of Peloponnesus. The Lacedemonians took the Petition of the Thebans into Confideration. thinking that Thebes, when it had recovered Strength, would be a good Bulwark against Asbens. Therefore, having at that time a considerable Force at Tanagra, they enlarg'd the Extent of the City Thebes, and forc'd the other Cities of Baotia to Submit to her Authority (1). The Athenians rais'd a numerous Army to oppose the Proceedings of the Lacedemonians, and, within fixty two Days after the Battle at Tanagra, enter'd Baotia under the Conduct of Myronides, and having obtain'd a fignal Victory over the Baotians at Oenophyta, reduc'd all Baotia, except Thebes, and raz'd the Walls of Tanagra (m). Myronides, after this Victory, reduc'd the Locri Opuntii, and forc'd them to deliver to him 100 Holtages. After which he made an Irruption into Pharsalia, and having subdued the Phocenses, and taken Holtages from them, he went into Thessaly, and commanded the Thessalians to receive those, whom they had banish'd (n). Amongst these, according to Thucydides, was Orestes, the Son of Echecratides King of Thesaly, who, being banish'd from his own Country, fled to Athens, and perswaded the Athenians to endeavour to restore him (0). The Inhabitants of Pharfalus not complying with thefe Demands, Myronides besieg'd them: the besieg'd for a long time made a brave Defence, Myronides there-

⁽¹⁾ Died. Sic. l. II. (m) Confer Died. Sic, ibid. & Thucyd. l. I. (n) Died. Sic. l. II. (e) Thucyd. l. I.

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fore, being unable to take Pharsalus, despair'd of subduing Thesaly, and thereupon return'd to Athens (p). About this time the Athenians sinish'd their long Walls: after which, according to Thucydides, the Eginetae, surrender'd to the Athenians, upon the sollowing Terms; That their Walls should be demolish'd, that they should deliver their Ships, and, for the suture, pay the Tribute impos'd upon

them (9).

After this, Tolmides the Son of Tolmaus, being incited by an Emulation of performing fomething equal to the great Atchievements of Myronides, obtain'd leave of the Athenians to make a Descent upon the Coasts of Laconia. Having made all the necessary Preparations for this Expedition, he loos'd from Athens, with a Fleet confilting of 50 Sail, and Land Forces amounting to 4000 Men, and fail'd to Methone, upon the Coasts of Laconia. When he had taken that Place, some Succours came from Sparta, whereupon he retir'd, and sail'd from thence to Gytheum, a Port belonging to the Lacedamonians. Having taken that City, he Burnt all the Lacedæmonian Ships, which lay there in Harbour, and laid waste the Country about it. From hence he sail'd to Zacynthus, and, having reduced all the Towns in that Island, loos'd from thence to Naupactus upon the opposite Coast. He took this place at the first Affault, and planted the Mellenians there, whom the Spartans, about three Years before this, had driven out of Peloponnesus. After this, he march'd with his Forces into Baotia.

Whilst Tolmides lay there, Pericles, with a Fleet of 50 Sail, and Forces confisting of 1000 Men, was sent to Invade Peloponnesus. Pericles, Landing his Forces in Peloponnesus, wasted the Territories of Sicyon; and, Beating the Sicyonians in a pitch'd Battle, kill'd a great Number of them in the Pursuit,

⁽p) Diod. Sic. l. 11. (q) Thucyd. l. 1.

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thut up the rest of them within their Walls. While he lay at the Siege of Sicyon, the Lacedamonians fent fome Succours to its Relief: whereupon, finding it impossible to take Sievon, he march'd from thence into Acarnania; where, after he had for some time ravaged the Country, he Belieg'd Oeniada, a City of Acarnania, upon the River Achelous, but not being able to take it, return'd to Athens (r). After this, he planted a Colony of 1000 Athenians in the Thracian Chersonesus, wherein he rais'd several Castles and fortified Places; and thereby hinder'd the frequent Incursions of the Thracians into the Cherjonesus, and put a stop to those Quarrels which arose in it: for, the Chersonesus, being inhabited by different Nations, some of them very Barbarous, and living upon Rapine, was perpetually subject to Commotions, from its own Inhabitants, as well as from those who border'd upon it. But now the Athenians, being dispers'd through the chief Cities of the Chersone sus, held all Parties in quiet Subjection (4). In the mean time, Tolmides pass'd over into Eubaa, and divided the Country of the Naxians amongst 1000 of the Athenians (t).

Cimon, who had been in Banishment Five Years, was now call'd home by a Decree, whereof Pericles was the Author, though he had been before the chief Instrument in procuring his Banishment (u). The first Thing that Cimon did after his Return, was to Reconcile the two Cities, Athens and Sparta: and by his means a Peace was concluded between them, for Five Years (x). About a Year after this, a Peace was concluded between the Argivi and the Laceda.

monians, for Thirty Years.

The Grecians had, ever fince the Banishment of Cimon, been sheathing their Swords in one another's

⁽t) Confer Thucyd. 1.1. Diod Sic. 1.11. (s) Plutarch in Pericle.
(t) Diod. Sic. 1.11. (u) Plutarch in Cimone. (x) Diod. Sic. 1.11.
Lincyd, I.i. Confer Plutarch, & Corn. Nop. in Cimons.

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Bowels: But he, having now made up the Differences between the two Principal of the contending Parties, perswaded the Athenians to employ their Arms against the Barbarians; and to enrich themselves with the Spoils of those, who were by Nature accounted Enemies to Greece. The Athenians, having lost their Fleet, which they sent into Agypt, at the Island Prosopis, were now resolved to Revenge themselves upon the Persians. Hereupon they fitted out a Navy, consisting of 200 Sail, and constituting Cimon General of their Forces, ordered him to Sail directly to Cyprus, and engage the Persians (y). When all things were prepared, and the Army ready to embark, Cimon, as Plutarch relates, Dream'd, that an angry Bitch bark'd at him, and a kind of humane Voice, mixt with Barking, utter'd these words:

ETEZ PING & ETH & suoi, & suois oxudaxant.

Go on; for shortly thou shalt be A Friend to my young Whelps, and me:

Mr. Morgan.

Astyphylus of Posidonium, a Man skill'd in Divination, and intimate with Cimon, told him that his Death was presaged by this Vision, which he thus explain'd. A Dog is an Enemy to him he barks at, and a Man is a Friend to his Enemy, when he is Dead: The mixture of humane Voice with Barking signified the Persians; the Persian Army consisting of Greeks and Barbarians. After this Dream, as he was Sacrificing to Bacchus, whilst the Priest cut up the Victim, a great Number of Emmets, taking up the congeal'd Particles of Blood, laid them about Cimon's great Toe. Cimon had no sooner espied this, than the Priest shew'd him the Liver of the Sacrifice simpersect, and wanting that part, which they call'd

⁽y) Died Sic. 1, 12.

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the Head. Both these were very fatal Omens; however he could not then recede from the Enterprize,

and therefore he immediately fet Sail (2).

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Artabazus, one of the Persian Commanders, lay then at Cyprus, with a Fleet confifting of 300 Sail; Megabazus with an Army of 300000 Men was in Cilicia. Cimon, upon his arrival at Cyprus, Landed in the Island, besieg'd Citium and Malus, and exercis'd great Humanity towards all whom he took Prisoners. After this, a fresh supply of Ships coming from Phanicia and Cilicia, to relieve Cyprus, Cimon loos'd from thence, and engag'd the Enemy. He funk a great Number of their Ships, took 100 of them with the Men in them, and pursued the rest to the Coasts of Phanicia. Those, who made their escape to the Land, fled to the Army under the Command of Megabazus. The Athenians, Landing their Men, engag'd the Enemy; in this Battle they loft Anaxicrates, one of their chief Officers, after he had behav'd himself with great Bravery. The Athenians, having made a great Slaughter of the Enemy, and obtain'd the Victory, went on Board, and Sail'd back to Cyprus. And thus ended the first Year of this Expedition (a).

The following Year, Cimon reduc'd the Cities in Cyprus. Salamis, the chief City of the Island, was still possessed by a strong Garrison of the Persians, throughly furnisht with all manner of Provisions: so that they could easily hold out a long Siege. This was a Place of such Importance, that Cimon thought, that, if he could make himself Master of it, all Cyprus would soon be reduc'd under his Power, and, the Persians being thereby quite dispirited, the War would presently be at an end: and that the Athenians being now Masters of the Sea about Cyprus, the Persians could not possibly throw any Succours into Salamis. The Athenians therefore immediately

laid

⁽²⁾ Plutarch, in Cimone. (a) Diod. Sic, 1, 12,

This in all probability is the same Treaty wath that mention'd in Plutarch, immediately after a former defeat of the Perfians by Cimon at the River Eurymedon. The King of Persia was by that Treaty engag'd, that his Armies should not approach within the length of an Horse-race to the Grecian Sea; and that none of his Ships thould appear between the Cyanean and Chelidonian Islands. Calliftbenes, cited by Plutarch, faith, that he agreed not to any Articles, but that the Fear, which Cimon's Success wrought in him, made him prudently keep off from Greece: fo that, when Perreles with 50 Ships cruis d beyond the Chelidonian Islands, he could not discover one Persian But, in the Collection which Graterus made of the Publick Acts of the People, there was an Original Draught of this Treaty. And 'tis reported, that an Altar was erected to Peace, at Albens, upon this Occasion, and that particular Honours were decreed

⁽b) Plutareb, in Cimone. (a) mound ni dere de (c)

to Callies, who was employ'd as an Ambassador to manage the Treaty (c).

After the Conclusion of the Peace, the Athenians mov'd with their Forces from Cyprus. In the mean time Cimon was feiz'd with a Diftemper, of which he Died, according to Diodorus, in that Island (d). Plutarch relates, that a little before his Death he fent to confult the Oracle of Jupiter Hammon, about some fecret Matter only known to himfelf, and that the Messengers receiv'd no other Answer, than that they should return, for Cimon was already with him. When they return'd to Cyprus, they found that this was meant of his Death, which had happen'd in their Absence, as some say by Sickness at Cittum in Cyprus; or, according to others, by a Wound which he had receiv'd in a Skirmish with the Barbarians. Cimon, when he perceiv'd he should die, order'd the Athenians to return home, and by no means to foread the News of his Death by the way. This they did with fo much Secrecy that they all came fafe home, and neither the Perfians, nor their own Allies, knew that Cimon was dead. So that, as Phanodemus in Plutarch observes, the Grecian Army was Conducted by Cimon 30 Days after he was dead (e).

With Cimon perish'd all the good Fortune, not only of Athens, but of Greece in general. For after the Conclusion of the Peace with the common Enemy, and the Death of Cimon, the Greetan Arms were not for a long time employ'd abroad, but their Swords were drawn against one another: those who bore Sway in the Principal Cities fomented their Quarrels, and animated them against one another to that degree, that none durst interpose their good Offices to reconcile them; till, by their mutual Discords, they brought themselves to the very Brink of Ruin, and gave the Persians time to repair all their

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⁽c) Plutarch. in Cimone. (d) Diod. Sie. 1, 12. Confer Thucyd. 1. 1. Plutarch. & Corn, Nep. in Cimone. (e) Plutarch, in Cimone.

The History of GREECE. Book III. Losses. The Death of Cimon, at such a Juncture, was the more to be lamented. He made it his utmost Endeavour to maintain a good Correspondence between the two leading States of Greece, Athens and Sparta: which, by his Interest both at home, and at Sparta, where he was more esteem'd than any Athenian Commander either before, or after his Time, he effected to that degree, that they never committed any Acts of Hollility upon one another, till after his Banishment. He was one of the greatest Men that ever bore Sway in the Athenian Commonwealth; being no ways inferiour to his Father Miltiades in Valour, or to Themistocles in Prudence, and as Plutarch affirms (f), more Honest than either of them, though there doth not appear any Instance of Miltiades's Dishonesty. From his first Rise in the State, being constantly employ'd abroad, he had neither Time nor Opportunity to apply himself much to Civil Affairs: But no Man gave a greater Check to the Power of Persia than Cimon: and he never obtain'd any Advantage over the Persians, which he did not pursue with the utmost Expedition. In his younger Years he is faid to have been Loofe and Debauch'd, and to have wholly abandon'd himself to Pleasure and Excess, and to have very much refembled his Grandfather Cimon, in his Manners and Way of Living, who from his Stupidity obtain'd the Name of Kodasuos, or Fool. Some have not scrupled to charge him with having liv'd familiarly with his Sister Elpinice some time before he Married her: She being otherwise a Woman of no great Reputation for her Chastity. And Plutarch is inclin'd to believe that he was given to Women. He was, as is generally believ'd, (though there are not wanting those that deny it) extremely well Bred, having learnt whatfoever the Young Noblemen of Athens, of those times, us'd to be instructed in. He could

⁽f) Plutarch, in Cimone.

Sing tolerably well, which he never refus'd to do when he was ask'd; and for that Reason was more generally belov'd than Themistocles, who despis'd fuch Accomplishments, as below a Soldier or States-There was fuch a wonderful Simplicity, and unaffected Openness and Freedom in his Behaviour, that he engag'd the Affections of all that convers'd with him. But what more especially endear'd him to the Commons, was his extreme Generofity and Hospitality. His Gardens lay open and expos'd, that any one might gather what Fruit he pleas'd. His Table was always well fpread; and though he did not affect nice or costly Entertainments, yet there was always Plenty of Provision, sufficient for as many as would come to it. Aristotle fays, that he did not allow this Liberty to all the Athenians indifferently, but only to those of his own Village Lacia, where he was Born (g). He never walk'd the Streets but with his Footmen attending him, who always carried confiderable Summs of Money, which he distributed to the Poor Citizens: and when he met an Old decay'd Citizen meanly cloth'd, he frequently strip'd his own Servant, to cloth him (b). He often Buried Poor Citizens, at his own Charge, who did not leave enough behind them to defray their Funeral Expences (i). Besides all this he very much Beautify'd and Adorn'd the City at his own private Expences. He built those Publick Places of Exercise, wherein their Philosophers us'd to read and dispute, and which the Athenians afterwards fo much frequented and delighted in. He fet the Forum with Plane Trees: The Academy, which was before open and expos'd to the Weather; he fenc'd with Trees, and beautify'd with Fountains; he made cover'd Allies to walk in, and fet out Ground for Foot and Horse-races. In a word, he did all the good Service he could, both to the

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⁽g) Plutarch. in Cimone. Confer Cic. de Offic. 1. 2. (h) Plutarch. & Corn, Nep. in Cimone, (1) Corn. Nep. ibidem. Publick Leisval

Publick and to Private Persons; so that, it is not to be wonder'd, that he who was so useful whilst he liv'd, should be lamented when he was dead. It is not agreed where he was buried: some say that he was carried from Cyprus to Athens, others that he was buried at Citium. Plutarch thinks, that the Monuments call'd Cimonian, which in his time remain'd at Athens, prove him to be buried there is yet the Inhabitants of Citium, as Nauswerates in Plutarch affirms, paid a particular Honour to a certain Tomb, which they call'd Cimon's; the Oracle, which they consulted, when they were afflicted with a great Famine, having commanded them to honour

Cimon as a God (k).

After the Death of Cimon the inveterate Hatred of the Athenians towards the Lacedemonians foon difcover'd it felf. The Lacedemonians were at that time engag'd in the War, call'd the Holy-War, against the Phocenses: who having unjustly deprived the Inhabitants of Delphi of their Temple, the Lacedemonians rais'd an Army against them, and, having disposses them of the Temple, gave it to the Delphians. The Lacedamonians had no fooner returned home, but the Athenians, under the Command of Pericles, subdued the Delphians, and restor'd the Temple to the Phocenses (1). About the same time, the Megarenses, revolting from the Athenians, sent Ambassadours to Sparta, and enter'd into a Confederacy with that City. The Athenians, being enrag'd at the Treachery of the Megarenfes, fent an Army into their Territories, which, having ravag'd the Country, and gotten much Plunder, return'd home. The Megarenses made a Sally out upon the the Athenians, but were beaten back into their Walls (m).

Some time after this, some Baotian Exiles having posses'd themselves of Orchomenus, Charonea and

⁽k) Plutarch in Gimone. (1) Confer Thucyd, I. 1. Plutarch, in Periele. (m) Diod, Sic. 1. 12.

feveral other Cities of Baotia, the Athenians fent a Party, confisting of 1000 heavy-arm'd Men, into Bæotia, under the Conduct of Tolmides. Pericles was against this Expedition, and endeavour'd to distinately distinately bent upon this Enterprise, march'd into Baotia, took Charonea, and having enflav'd the Inhabitants, left a Garrison of the Athenians in that City. After he lest Cheronea, the Baotians, in Conjunction with the Locri and some Exiles of Eubaa, made a Sally out of Orchomenus, and fell upon Tolmides, near Coronea, and either kill'd or took all the Athenians Prisoners. Tolmides, having behav'd himself very bravely, was kill'd in this Action. Hereupon, the Athenians, to redeem their Prisoners, were forc'd to restore all the Cities of Baotia to their Liberty (n): and the bad Success of this Expedition very much rais'd Pericles's Reputation at Athens, who had oppos'd it from the Beginning (0).

Upon this Defeat in Baotia, the Athenian Interest among the Grecian Cities declin'd very fenfibly; many of them being ready to revolt, and all Eubaa being in actual Rebellion against him. Hereupon Pericles, with a considerable Force was sent over into Eubea; where he had but just arriv'd, when News was brought to him, that the Magarenses, who had lately revolted, being affifted by the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and the Inhabitants of Epidaurus, had kill'd all the Athenian Garrison in Megara, except a small Party which made their Escape to Nifea; and that the Peloponne sians were making an Irruption into Attica. These Dangers, being nearer home, forc'd Pericles to withdraw his Army from Eubaa, that he might hinder the Peloponnesians from entring into Attica: but, upon his Return home, he found the Lacedamonians, under the Conduct of their King Pliftoanax, advanc'd as far as

⁽n) Died. Sic. 1. 12. Thucyd. 1. 1. (o) Plutarch, in Pericle.

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Thirasium and Eleusis, and ravaging the Country thereabouts. Pericles, notwithstanding, was very unwilling to run the Hazard of a Battle with the Lacedæmonians, if he could possibly avoid it. He found that Plistoanax, who was but a Young Man, was entirely govern'd by Cleandrides, whom the Ephori had plac'd about him, as his chief Counsellor. Pericles therefore corrupted Cleandrides, whereupon the Peloponnesian Army soon retir'd out of Attica. The Lacedæmonians, being enrag'd at the Disappointment of this Expedition, and finding their Army dispers'd, condemn'd Plistoanax in a pecuniary Mulct, which being unable to pay he was immediately Banish'd. As for Cleandrides, who presently sled, he

was condemn'd to Death (p).

As foon as the Peloponnesian Army had retreated out of Attica, Pericles, with a Navy confilting of 50 Sail, and 5000 Men, pass'd over again into Eubæa. First he drove out the Hippobata, the Principal Men both in Riches and Authority at Chakis: then he took Hestica, turn'd out the Inhabitants, and planted a Colony of Athenians in their Room; the chief Reason of this Rigour towards the Inhabitants of Hestica, was their having formerly taken an Athenian Galley, and kill'd all the Men that were in it. The other Cities, being terrified at these Proceedings, immediately submitted to the Athenians; whereupon a Peace was concluded between them for 30 Years, and fign'd by Callias and Chares (q). After the Athenians return'd home from Eubæa, a Treaty was made between them and the Peloponnesians, whereby the Athenians were oblig'd to restore Nisaa, Achaia, Pega and Trazen, which they had taken from the Peloponnesians, and a Peace was concluded between them for Thirty Years (r).

⁽p) Plutarch, in Pericle. (q) Diod, Sic. l. 12. Thucyd. l. 1.
Plutarch, in Pericle. (r) Thucyd. l. 1.

In the Sixth Year after the Conclusion of this Peace, a War broke out between the Inhabitants of Samos and Miletus, about the City Priene. The Milesians, being inferiour in Strength to the Samians, were fecretly Encouraged, by a discontented Party in Samos, that was uneasy under the present Establishment, to sue to the Athenians for their Allistance. Pericles, who now had the fole Management of Affairs at Athens, was already engag'd on their fide. There was at that time one A/pa/sa, a celebrated Courtesan of Miletus, the Daughter of one Axiochus, and a Woman of great Parts, and fo excellently skill'd in State-Affairs, that the wifest and greatest Men of the Age us'd to frequent her Company to improve their Knowledge and Experience. Pericles was at that time in Love with her, and afterwards putting away his own Wife, Marry'd her: fo that it was suspected, that, at her Instigation, Pericles prevail'd with the Athenians to affift the Milesians. For the Samians refusing to lay the matter before the Athenians, and to make up the Quarrel in a peaceable way, Pericles with 40 Ships fail'd to Samos, establish'd a Democracy in the Island, took 50 Boys and as many Men for Hostages, whom he fent to the Island Lemnos, impos'd 80 Talents upon Samos as a Tribute, and, leaving a Garrison of Athenians there, return'd to Athens. After his return, fome of the Nobility, who, being unable to bear a Popular Government, had fled to the Continent of Asia, enter'd into League with Pissuthnes then Governour of Sardis, who supply'd them with 700 Men, in hopes of reducing Samos under his Master's Dominion. With these Forces the Samian Fugitives landed by Night in Samos, and, having driven out all of the Popular Faction, stole away their Hostages from Lemnos, and deliver'd the Athenian Garrison, which Pericles left in Samos, to Piffuthnes. And, thus openly Revolting from the Athenians, they made Preparations to carry on the War against Miletus.

At the same time that these things were transacted at Samos, Byzantium revolted from the Athenians (s). Pericles was hereupon sent a Second time with a Navy, confifting of 60 Sail, to Samos; whereof he fent 16 towards Caria, to discover the Phanician Fleet (which he heard was coming to affilt Samos; and to gather Supplies from Chios and Lesbos. With the remaining 44 he Engag'd the Samian Fleet, which consisted of 70 Sail, and obtain'd the Victory near the Island Tragia. Pericles, after this Victory, being join'd by 40 Ships from Athens, and 25 from Chios and Lesbos, landed in Samos, beat the Enemy in a pitch'd Battle, and, having forc'd them to fly into their Walls, besieg'd them both by Sea and Land. In a few days after, Pericles, with 60 Sail, cruis'd towards Caria, in order to engage the Phanician Fleet, which he heard was coming to relieve Samos. In the mean time the Belieg'd thought this a very favourable Opportunity to make a Sally upon the Enemy, whilst Pericles was absent; which they did with so good effect, that they funk many of the Athenian Ships which lay at the Siege, and gain'd fo compleat a Victory, that they held the Dominion of the Sea 14 Days, during all which time they Imported and Exported what they would. The News of this Defeat of the Athenians brought Pericles back to Samos, where he had not lain many Days, when he was join'd by 60 Ships, under the Command of Thucydides, Agnon, Phormio, Tlepolemus and Anticles, from Athens, and 30 more from Chios and Lesbos. With these numerous Supplies he carried on the Seige with the utmost Vigour, storming their Walls with new Engines, invented by one Artomon an Engineer of Sparta: fo that in a short time he became Master of the City. Having punish'd the chief Authors of the Revolt, he exacted 200 Talents to defray the Expences which the Athenians had been at

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in this War. He took all their Ships, demolish'd their Walls, re-establish'd the Democracy, and then returned to Athens, having spent nine Months in

this Expedition (1). The Inhabitants of Byzantium immediately submitted to the Athenians upon this Condition; That they should be subject to them upon the same Terms as they had been before their

Revolt (u).

The 30 Years Peace, concluded between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, was yet inviolably observ'd on both sides: but within two Years after Samos was reduc'd, a War broke out between Corinth and the Island Corcyra, which gave Occasion, not only to the Breach of this Treaty, but to the longest and most bloody War that ever was wag'd by the Grecians against one another. The Ground of this Quarrel, between Corinth and Corcyra, was as follows. There was a City nam'd Epidamnus, fince call'd Dyrrachium, fituated on the Ionian Sea, near the Taulantit, a Barbarous Nation of Illyricum. In this City the Corcyreans had formerly planted a Colony, under the Conduct of one Phalius, the Son of Eratoclides, a Corinthian by Birth, and descended from Hercules: The Corinthians, and others of the Dorick Nation, join'd with them in this Plantation. Epidamnus, after some Years, became very Considerable, as well for the Number of its Inhabitants, as for its Wealth: but, being engag'd in continual Wars with her Barbarous Neighbours, and shaken with Civil and Intestine Commotions, she was at length reduc'd to a very weak Condition. The City was, at this time, divided by Two powerful and violent Factions, whereof the Commons, being Superiour, expell'd the Nobility, who immediately join'd the Barbarians, and infested those, who remain'd in the City, with Rob. beries both by Sea and Land. The Commons, by this means, were reduc'd to such Extremities, as forc'd

⁽tt) Confer Thucyd. 1, 1. Plutarch in Pericle, Died Sic, 1, 12. (u) Thueyd, ibidem. them

The History of GREECE. Book III. them to fend to Corcyra, the Mother of their Colony, to defire the Corcyreans not to fee them perifh, but to reconcile the Nobility to them, and put an end to the War. The Corcyreans took no notice of their Requelt, whereupon they consulted the Delphian Oracle, whether they should not acknowledge Cothemselves to the Protection of that City. The Oracle commanding them to do fo, they immediately went to Corinth, where they related the Answer they had receiv'd from the Oracle, acknowledg'd that City as the Mother of their Colony, Phalius the Founder of it being a Corinthian, and lastly, defird her Protection against the banish'd Nobility and the Barbarians. The Corinthians very readily Promis'd to affift them, not only upon the Account of the Equity of their Cause, but in hopes of gratifying their own private Resentments, against the Corcyreans. They thought themselves to have as good a Right to the Colony at Epidamnus, as the Corcyreans, and they had for a long time been provok'd by the contemptuous Behaviour of Corcyra towards them: for that Island, notwithstanding it was planted by the Corinthians, yet, now depending upon its Riches, and Power at Sea, refus'd to pay the Corinthians those Marks of Honour which were due from a Colony to its Mother City. So that, on both these Accounts, they were resolv'd to relieve Epidamnus, and to embrace this Opportunity of revenging themselves upon Corcyra.

The Corinthians gave leave to as many of their own City as would, to go to Epidamnus, and levied Forces at Ambracia and Leucas, which march'd to Apollonia: for they were afraid to venture by Sea, lest they should be surpriz'd by the Corcyreans, who, hearing that the Commons of Epidamnus had submitted themselves to Corinth, and obtain'd a considerable Force thence to defend their City, immediately made to Epidamnus with 25 Sail, which

were foon after join'd by another Fleet, and very insolently commanded them to receive their Fugitives, and fend away the Forces, fent from Corinth, to their Affistance. These Threats having no Effect, the other Fleet, which being join'd by the Illyrians confifted of 14 Sail, came from Corcyra to Epidamnus. Then the Corcyreans propos'd, that, who foever of the Citizens or Strangers would, might depart out of the City with Safety, otherwise they should be treated as Enemies. But when this did not prevail, the Corcyreans began a formal Seige. The Corinthians, hearing that Epidamnus was besieg'd, sent a Navy confifting of 68 Sail, which they had rais'd at home and amongst their Confederates, and 2000 effective Men of their own to its Relief. The Corcyreans being affrighted at these mighty Preparations, fent Ambassadours to Corinth, who were attended by others from Sicyon and Sparta, to desire the Corinthians to draw away their Forces with the new Colony from Epidamnus, because that City did not belong to them. But if they infifted on their Title to it, the Corcyreans propos'd to have the Matter judicially tried by any City in Pelopounesus, which they and the Corintbians should agree on: Or if they did not approve of these Proposals, they would submit the Controversy to be determin'd by the Delphian Oracle, or take any other reasonable Method they would offer to prevent a War. The Corinthians answer'd to this, that if they would raise the Siege of Epidamnus, they would confult about the Matter. The Corcyreans agreed to do this, upon Condition they would remove their Forces from Epidamnus, or to make a Truce for Ceffation of Arms, till the Matter was decided.

The Corinthians would not comply with these Proposals, but so soon as their Fleet was furnish'd with necessary Provisions, and their Confederates were ready, sent a Herald to proclaim War against the Corcyreans, and then sail'd to Epidamnus under

The History of GREECE. Book HI. them to fend to Corcyra, the Mother of their Colony, to defire the Corcyreans not to fee them perifh, but to reconcile the Nobility to them, and put an end to the War. The Corcyreans took no notice of their Requelt, whereupon they consulted the Delphian Oracle, whether they should not acknowledge Cothemselves to the Protection of that City. The Oracle commanding them to do fo, they immediately went to Corinth, where they related the Answer they had receiv'd from the Oracle, acknowledg'd that City as the Mother of their Colony, Phalius the Founder of it being a Corinthian, and lastly, defird her Protection against the banish'd Nobility and the Barbarians. The Corinthians very readily Promis'd to affift them, not only upon the Account of the Equity of their Cause, but in hopes of gratifying their own private Resentments, against the Corcyreans. They thought themselves to have as good a Right to the Colony at Epidamnus, as the Corcyreans, and they had for a long time been provok'd by the contemptuous Behaviour of Corcyra towards them: for that Island, notwithstanding it was planted by the Corinthians, yet, now depending upon its Riches, and Power at Sea, refus'd to pay the Corinthians those Marks of Honour which were due from a Colony to its Mother City. So that, on both these Accounts, they were refolv'd to relieve Epidamnus, and to embrace this Opportunity of revenging themselves upon Corcyra.

The Corinthians gave leave to as many of their own City as would, to go to Epidamnus, and levied Forces at Ambracia and Leucas, which march'd to Apollonia: for they were afraid to venture by Sea, lest they should be surpriz'd by the Corcyreans, who, hearing that the Commons of Epidamnus had submitted themselves to Corinth, and obtain'd a considerable Force thence to defend their City, immediately made to Epidamnus with 25 Sail, which

were foon after join'd by another Fleet, and very infolently commanded them to receive their Fugitives, and fend away the Forces, fent from Corinth, to their Affistance. These Threats having no Effect, the other Fleet, which being join'd by the Illyrians confifted of 14 Sail, came from Corcyra to Epidamnus. Then the Corcyreans propos'd, that, who foever of the Citizens or Strangers would, might depart out of the City with Safety, otherwise they should be treated as Enemies. But when this did not prevail, the Corcyreans began a formal Seige. The Corinthians, hearing that Epidamnus was besieg'd, sent a Navy confifting of 68 Sail, which they had rais'd at home and amongst their Confederates, and 3000 effective Men of their own to its Relief. The Corcyreans being affrighted at these mighty Preparations, fent Ambassadours to Corinth, who were attended by others from Sicyon and Sparta, to desire the Corinthians to draw away their Forces with the new Colony from Epidamnus, because that City did not belong to them. But if they infifted on their Title to it, the Corcyreans propos'd to have the Matter judicially tried by any City in Pelopounesus, which they and the Corintbians should agree on: Or if they did not approve of these Proposals, they would submit the Controversy to be determin'd by the Delphian Oracle, or take any other reasonable Method they would offer to prevent a War. The Corinthians answer'd to this, that if they would raise the Siege of Epidamnus, they would confult about the Matter. The Corcyreans agreed to do this, upon Condition they would remove their Forces from Epidamnus, or to make a Truce for Ceffation of Arms, till the Matter was decided.

The Corinthians would not comply with these Proposals, but so soon as their Fleet was furnish'd with necessary Provisions, and their Confederates were ready, sent a Herald to proclaim War against the Corcyreans, and then sail'd to Epidamnus under

The History of GREECE, Book III. 400 the Command of Aristeus, the Son of Pellices, Callicrates, the Son of Callias, and Timanor, the Son of Timanthes, Admirals; and Archetimus, the Son of Eurytimus, and Isarchides, the Son of Isarchus, Generals of their Land-forces. Upon their arrival at Actium, upon the Ambracian Gulf, an Herald came to them from the Corcyreans, with Proposals of Peace, which being rejected by the Corinthians, the Corcyreans, with a Navy confifting of 80 Sail, gave the Enemy Battle, wherein the Corcyreans obtain'd the Victory, and destroy'd 15 of the Corinthian Ships. The same Day Epidamnus was surrender'd to the Corcyreans upon these Terms, That all the Strangers, that were found in the City, should be Sold; and that the Corinthians, who came to relieve Epidamnus, should be kept in Chains, till they should be otherwife dispos'd of. The Battle being ended, the Corcyreans, having erected a Trophy at Leucimna, a Promontory of Corcyra, put to Death all the other Prisoners, but kept the Corinthians still in Chains. The Corinthians being return'd Home, the Corcyreans first fail'd to Leucas, a Colony belonging to Corinth, and walted the Country about it: and, after that, to Cyllene, a Post of Elis, where they Burnt all the Ships that lay in Harbour, because the Eleans had furnisht the Corinthians, both with Money and Ships.

The Corcyreans, by their late Victory, having obtain'd the Dominion of the Sea, infelled the Confederates of Corinth for the greatest part of that Year. In the following Spring the Corinthians sent another Navy, and more Land Forces, which Encampt about Astium and Chimerium in Thesprotia, to defend Leucas, and their other Confederate Cities. The Corcyrean Fleet and Land Forces lay over against them at Leucimna: both sides thought six to ly still all that Summer, and when Winter came on they both return'd Home without striking a Blow. The Corinthians spent a whole Year in Building a Navy, and levying Sea-Men from Peloponnessus, and other

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parts of Greece: the Corcyreans, who were not in League with any of the Grecian Cities, being terrified at these Preparations, sent Ambassadors to contract an Alliance with the Athenians, and to defire their Affiltance against the Corinthians. Hereupon, the Corintbians immediately fent Ambassadors to Athens. to diffwade the Athenians from entring into an Alliance with the Corcyreans, and to defire them to affift the Corinthians. The Athenians, notwithstanding, enter'd into a defensive Alliance, with Corcyra, not daring to contract a stricter Confederacy, which would look like a Breach of the Treaty between them and the Peloponnesians. And the Motives, which engag'd them to do this, were the strength of the Corcyrean Fleet, which they were unwilling should be subject to the Corinthians, and the convenience of a Paffage into Italy and Sicily through Corcyra.

When the Corinthians were gone, the Athenians immediately fent to Ships, to the affiftance of the Corcyreans, under the Command of Lacedamonius the Son of Cimon, Diotimus, the Son of Strombichus, and Proteas, the Son of Epicles. Lacedamonius was very averfe to this expedition, but Pericles, who had always been an Enemy to Cimon's Family, and us'd all means to prevent his Sons rifing in the State, procur'd Lacedemonius to be fent, on purpose to bring him under difgrace. Cimon was suspected to be too great a Favourer of the Lacedamonians, and Pericles now endeavour'd to fasten the same Suspicion upon his Son. To this end, he gave him very strict Injunctions, by all means to decline engaging with the Corinthians, unless they first offer'd violence to Corcyra, under a pretence of regard to the Treaty between the Athenians and Peloponnesians: but, in case the Corintbians did make any attempts upon Corcyra, then he was order'd to act vigoroully in her defence. Pericles had taken care to allow him fo small a Number of Ships, that he could not do any confiderable Service: and by this means he thought to render

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Lacedemonius suspected in the interest of Sparta (x) The Corinthians, when they had made all necessary Preparations, Sail'd towards Corcyra with a Navy confifting of 150 Ships, under the chief Command of Xenoclides, the Son of Enthycles. Being arriv'd at that part of the Continent, which lies over against Corcyra, they Sail'd from Leucas, to Chimerium near Ephyra, a Port in that part of Thesprotia, which is call'd Eleatis. The Corcyreans, hearing that the Enemy was Sailing against them, fitted out a Fleet confifting of 110 Sail; and under the Conduct of Miciades, Asimides, and Eurybates, came, and encampt their Men in one of the Islands call'd Sybata, being now join'd by Lacedamonius with to Ships from Athens. Their Infantry, and 1000 heavy Arm'd Men, which came from Zacynthus to their affistance, lay in the Promontory Leucimna. The. Corintbians, whose Forces lay on the other Continent, were join'd by a confiderable Number of the Barbarians of those Parts, who had always been their Friends; and, when all things were ready, they took three Days Provision on Board, and hoisted Sail by Night, in order to engage the Enemy. About break of Day they discover'd the Corcyrean Fleet, which was then Launcht into the main Ocean, in quest of the Corinthians. As foon as they had fight of one another, they drew out their Ships in Line of Battle. The Atbenian Ships were Plac'd in the right Wing of the Corcyreaus; the rest of their Navy, being compos'd of their own Ships, was divided into three Squadrons, each of which was Commanded by one of their own Admirals. The Corinthians, in their right Wing, plac'd the Ships of Megara and Ambracia; in the middle flood their other Confederates, and themselves form'd the left Wing, which was opposite to the Athenians.

Having dispos'd their Ships in this Order, they came to a very sharp Engagement, wherein both Sides

⁽x) Plutarch, in Pericle,

thew'd more Courage than Discipline. The right Wing of the Corintbians, which confilted of the Ships of Megara and Ambracia, was put to Flight: and the Corcyreans with 20 Ships purfued them to the Continent, and Landing their Men, burnt the Camps which were abandon'd by the Enemy, and brought away much Plunder. While the Corcyreans gave the Megarenfes chace, the Corintbians in the right Wing obtain of the Advantage, and put the Corepreans to Flight Wherenpon the Athenians, who had hitherto, in compliance to their orders, forbore to engage, attacks the Corintbians. When the Corintbians had pursued the Corcyreans to the Shore, they return'd to gather up their broken Planks, and Bodies of their Dead, which for the most part they recover'd and brought to Sybota, an old broken Harbour of Thesprotia, where the Land-forces of the Barbarians lay, who came to their affiltance. After this the Corint hians rallied their Forces again, in order to give the Corcyreans Battle a fecond time: the Coregreans, with what Ships they had left fit for ufe, together with those of Atheus, prepar'd to meet them, being now afraid that the Corinthians would Land in Corcyra. The Day was far spent, and the Paran, which was Sung before a Battle, just ended, when the Corintbians on a suddain made a retreat; for Pericles, having rais'd the clamours of the People against him, because he had afforded the Corcyreans fo small a supply, had now fent 20 Ships more, under the Command of Glancon the Son of Leager, and Andocides, the Son of Leogorus; upon light whereof the Corinthians thought fit to retire (y).

The next Day the Corcyreans, being now re-inforc'd with 26 Ships from Athens, Sail'd to Sybota, where the Corinthians lay at Anchor, and Challeng'd them to Battle. The Corinthians weigh'd Anchor, but were resolv'd not to begin the Battle, because the Corcyreans were

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⁽y) Confor Thucyd, 1, s. Blutareb. in Pericle.

inforc'd with a fresh Supply from Athens, and because themselves were involv'd in some difficulties, both about the Prisoners, whom they had on Board and were Sollicitous how they should keep, and about their Ships, which, lying in an unfrequented Harbour, they could not repair. Wherefore they confulted which way they should return Home, for they imagin'd that the Athenians, esteeming the Treaty broken by their late Engagement with them, would not fuffer them to Sail Home. Hereupon they fent to expostulate with the Athenians, for making War against them, and breaking the Treaty: For as much as when they endeavour'd to revenge themselves on their Enemies, the Athenians prevented them, by taking up Arms against them. They desir'd them therefore if they intended to hinder their defigns against Corcyra, or any other Place which they should invade, that they would diffolve the Treaty, and take those Men whom they had fent, and Treat them as Enemies. The Corcyreans, who heard this Meffage, with a great Shout desir'd the Athenians to Kill the Messengers; but they notwithstanding return'd them this Answer: That they neither began the War, nor acted any thing contrary to the Treaty, unless defending their Confederates should be esteem'd fo: That if their defigns lay any other way, they would by no means hinder them, but if they invaded Corcyra, or any Country belonging to Her, they would defend Her to the utmost of their Power.

The Corinthians, having receiv'd this Answer, prepar'd to return Home, first erecting a Trophy, at Sybota in Thesprotia, in Token of the Victory; for they had taken no less than 1000 of the Corcyreans, Priloners, and Sunk 70 of their Ships, which, besides a great Number of Dead Bodies, and broken Planks, which they had recover'd from the Enemy, they thought a good Title to the Victory. The Corcyreans likewise erected a Trophy in one of the Islands call'd Sybota; for the Wind very Fortunately carried

away from the Corinthians, most of the Carcasses and Planks back to their Ships; they had Sunk 30 of the Enemies Ships; the Corintbians, upon fight of the Athenian Re-inforcements, had retreated, and refus'd to fight the Day after, when the Corcyreans challeng'd them to it; upon all which accounts they thought themselves to have as good a Right to the Victory as the Corinthians. And fo they both, in their own Opinion, return'd Conquerours home. The Corinthians, in their way home-ward, took Anactorium, a Town upon the Gulf of Ambracia, belonging in common to them with the Corcyreans: they drove all the Corcyreans out of the Town, and planted a Colony of their own in their Room. After this they fold 800 of the Prisoners, whom they had taken from the Corcyreans, and kept 250 bound, treating them with the utmost Tenderness and Humanity, in hopes that when they return'd into Corcyra, they, in requital to them for their Kindness, would betray it into their hands. Thus ended the War between Corinth and Corcyra, which was the first Occasion of the Corinthians afterwards making War upon Athens (z).

The War between Corinth and Corcyra was no fooner concluded, but other Differences fell out, which inflam'd the Quarrel between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, and gave Occasion to that dreadful War afterwards wag'd between them. For whilst the Corinthians studied to be reveng'd on Athens, the Athenians, being jealous of the Hatred which the Corinthians bore to them, commanded the Inhabitants of Potidea, a City in the Isthmus of Pallene, and a Colony of the Corinthians, but Confederate and Tributary to Athens, to pull down their Walls which look towards Pallene, to expel their present Magistrates, and for the suture not to receive any of the Magistrates which were Annually sent to them from

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⁽t) Thucyd. l. 1. vide Died, Sic. l. 12.

The History of GREECE. Book III. Corinth; fearing, lest through the Perswasion of Perdiccas, King of Macedon, and the Corintbians, they should Revolt, and draw their other Confederates in Thrace, into the same Practices with themfelves. The Athenians, immediately after the Battle near Corcyra, determin'd to proceed in this manner against Potidea; for they were now manifestly at variance with the Corintbians, and Perdiecas, who before had been their Friend and Confederate, now made War upon them. The occasion of the Quarrel between Perdiccas and the Athenians, was, their entering into an Alliance with his Brother Philip, and Derdas, the Son of Arideus, his Kinsman, who were in Arms against him. Hereupon, Perdiccas, being afraid for himself and his Kingdom, sent to Sparta to negotiate a War between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, and join'd with the Corintbians, the better to procure the Revolt of Potidea. He likewise Practis'd with the Inhabitants of Chakis, and the Bottieans, in Thrace, to Revolt from the Athenians. For he thought, that if he could make these neighbouring Cities his Confederates, he should by their Affistance carry on the War with more ease against Athens.

The Athenians were not ignorant of all his Proceedings, and therefore fitted out a Navy confifting of 30 Sail, and Manning it with 1000 Men, under the Conduct of Archestratus, the Son of Lycomedes, and Ten other Collegues, order'd them to make a Descent into Macedonia, to take Hostages from Potidea, and demolish the Walls of that City, and to have an especial regard to the neighbouring Towns, that they did not revolt. The Inhabitants of Potidea, having fent Ambassadors to Atbens, to disfwade the Athenians from making any Alterations among them; by other Ambassadors, whom they fent along with Ambaffadors from Corintb to Sparta, at the same time privately dealt with the Lacedemonians, that, if there should be occasion, they would affift

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affift them. After much Sollicitation at Athens to no purpose, a Fleet being now sent from thence to Macedonia and having obtain'd large Affurances from the Ephori at Sparta, that, if the Athenians made any Attempts upon Potidea, they would Invade Attice; the Potideate, with the Chalcidenses and Bottieans, revolted from the Athenians. Per- Olymp. diceas also perswaded the Chalcidenses to abandon and pull down their maritime Towns, and to fortify Olynthus, which was at a greater distance from the Sea. He gave them part of his own Country, and part of the Territories of Mygdonia, about the Lake Bolbe, to inhabit fo long as the War against the Athenians continued. The Athenians, upon their arrival at Thrace, finding Potidea and the neighbouring Cities revolted, thought their present Forces not sufficient to carry on the War, both against Perdiccas and the revolted Cities; and therefore immediately fet Sail for Macedonia, against which they were first sent out, and there join'd Philip, and the Brothers of Derdas, who had made an Irruption into Macedonia. In the mean time, whilft the Athenian Fleet lay upon the Coast of Macedonia, the Corinthians, fearing what was become of Potidea, fent Volunteers from their own City, and levied, from the other Parts of Peloponnesus, Forces confisting of 1600 heavy arm'd, and 400 light arm'd Men, who, under the Command of Arifteus, the Son of Adimantus, arriv'd at Thrace, within 40 Days after Potidea revolted.

The News of the Revolt, and the Forces which the Corinthians had fent, under the Conduct of Aristeus, to Potidaa, reaching Athens, the Athenians immediately fent Callias, the Son of Calliades, and four other Collegues, with 2000 heavy arm'd Men, and 40 Sail of Ships, against the revolted Cities. Upon their Arrival at Macedonia, they found the Forces, which the Athenians had fent under the Command of Archestratus, in Possession of Therma,

and besieging Pydna; where they continued some time, and help'd to carry on the Siege. In a short time after, being forc'd, by the Affairs of Potidea, to make as honourable; Peace as they could with Perdiccas, they quitted Macedonia, and Marcht to Berrhea. Having made some fruitless Attempts upon that Place, they Marcht towards Potidea. Both their Armies being now join'd, they were 3000 Men strong, besides a good Number of their Consederates, and 600 Macedonian Horse, who had lately Serv'd under Philip, and Pausanias, the Son, or according to some, the Brother of Derdas. Both their Fleets, being likewise join'd, consisted of 70 Sail. Whilst their Fleet cruis'd along the Shore, their Land Army by slow and easie Marches, in three Days, arriv'd

and encampt at Gigonus.

The Potidaata and Peloponnesians, under Aristeus, lay encampt in the Isthmus, near Olynthus, expecting the approach of the Athenians. Arifleus, by the unanimous consent of the Consederacy was made General of the Infantry, and Perdiccas of the Cavalry, who, notwithstanding the Peace lately concluded between him and the Athenians, assisted the Potideata. He substituted Iolaus in his Command. Aristeus's delign was to stay with the Body of his Army within the Ishmus, and to Watch the Motions of the Athenians; the Chalcidenses, and their Confederates were order'd to plant themselves without the Isthmus; 200 Horse, under Perdiccas, were to lie within the City Olynthus, and so soon as the Athenians, had past that City to fall upon their Rear. And by this means he thought to have furrounded their whole Army. But Callias, and his Collegues, detaching a Party of their Confederates and the Macedonian Horse, sent them before to Olynthus, to prevent those within that Town from making a Sally out: and then himself with the other part of his Army marcht towards Potidea. When they drew near to the Ishmus, they found the Enemy ready to

engage, and accordingly they prepar'd for the Battle. In this Engagement Arifteus, with a felect Body of his Corint bians and Confederates, put the opposite Wing of the Enemy to flight, and pursued them; but the other part of the Army, confilting of the Potideata and Peloponnesians, being over power'd by the Athenians, fled into Potidea; Arifteus, returning from pursuit of the Enemy, and finding the other Wing of his Army disperst, was in great doubt whether he should go to Olynthus or Potidea. At length he resolv'd to take the shortest way, and Rallying his Forces marcht to Potidea; and with great difficulty enter'd the City, at the Peer, some of his Men being loft, and himself having narrowly escapt being wounded. Perdiccas's Horse, which lay at Olynthus, as foon as the Battle began, advanc'd to affilt the Potideate, but being oppos'd by the Macedonian Horse, they were Forc'd to retire into Olynthus; and in the mean time the Athenians obtain'd the Victory: so that neither side had their Cavalry at the Battle. After the Engagement the Athenians Olymp. erected a Trophy, and made a Truce with the Enemy whilst they Buried their Dead. The Potideate and their Confederates, in this Action, lost 300 Men; the Athenians 150, and Callias their General (a).

The Athenians, after this, rais'd a Wall before that fide of Potidaa, which lookt towards the Isthmus, but, by reason of the smallness of their Number, they durst not attempt the other side towards Pallene, lest, when their Forces were divided into two Bodies, the Potideate, and their Confederates should make a Sally out upon them. When the People of Athens heard, that there was not a sufficient Force to invest Potidea, they fent 1600 Men, under the conduct of Phormi, the Son of Asopius; and upon his arrival, Potidea was besieg'd on both sides. Aristeus now thought their were no hopes of safety left, unless

87. r. A. M. 3572.

⁽a) Thucyd. l. 1. vide Diod. Sic. l. 12.

they had fome speedy relief. He therefore propos'd to the befreg'd, that all the Garrison, except 700 Men, should go out of Potidies, by which means their Provision would last the longer, and himself offer'd to flay, and defend the City. This Proposal being rejected, Ariftens Privately got out of Potidea, unfeen by the Athenians, and Sail'd to the Chalcidenfes. Amongst many other remarkable Adventures, he lay in ambush before Sermylis, and kill'd many of the Inhabitants of that City: after which he fent to Pelaponnefus, for Succours to Potidea. Phormio, having finish'd his Works before Potidea, follow'd Arifteus, with his 1600 Men, and having wasted the Territories of the Chalcidenses, and Bottieans, took feveral small Towns thereabouts.

The Corintbians hearing that Potidea was Belieg'd. were in great concern for the Men, whom they had fent thither, and were afraid of lofing the Town. Hereupon they call'd all the Confederates to Sparta, where an Assembly was held, wherein the Confederates presented their several Complaints against the Athenians. The Megarenses accus'd them, amongst feveral other Acts of Injustice, of excluding them from the Use of their Forum and Havens, contrary to the Articles of the Eubern Treaty. After them, the Corinthians, having expollulated with the Lacedemonians for their Remissness in assisting their Confederates, laid before them the Bufiness of Corcyra and Potidea, and put them in Mind of the Promife they had made to the Potideate, that they would Invade Attica, if the Athenians made any Attempts upon Potidea. The Aginete though they durst not openly fend Ambassadors to Sparta, for fear of the Athenians, yet privately made their Complaints known to the Spartans, being as heartily inclined to make War upon the Athenians, as any of the other Confederates. At the same time there happen'd to be Ambassadors from Athens, at Sparta, who, hearing the heavy Charge, which the Corinthians especially

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cially had laid upon the Athenians, defir'd that they might be heard; not so much to excuse the Conduct of the Athenians, as to flew the Spartans the ablolute necessity of mature Deliberation in a matter of fo much moment. When the Confederates and Athenian Ambassadors had been severally heard, they were put out of the Affembly; and then the Startans began to debate the matter by themselves. Most of them being of Opinion, that the Athenians had acted unjustly, and broken the Treaty, and that War should suddenly be Proclaim'd against them, Archidamas, King of Sparta, a Man of great Wildom and Experience, comparing the Strength of Athens and Sparta, shew'd them the Inconvenience of too much Precipitancy in Proclaiming the War, especially whilft the Athenians were fo ftrong, and themselves fo weak and unprovided. Sthenelaides, One of the Ephori, a Man of more Heat and Violence, endeavour'd to perswade them to proclaim War against Athens without more ado, and not suffer the Athenians to oppress their Confederates. Then he put it to the Vote of the whole Assembly, the major part whereof Voted the Treaty to be broken, and War to be immediately proclaim'd.

The Consederates after this were call'd into the Assembly, and the Spartans told them, that it was their Opinion, that the Athenians had acted unjustly; yet they call'd in the Consederates to give their Votes, that the War might be decreed by common Consent. This being done, the Consederates return'd home; and the Athenian Ambassadors, so soon as they had dispatch'd the Business they came about, return'd to Athens. After this the Lacedamonians sent to Consult the Delphian Oracle, concerning the Event of the War, and, as the Report goes, receiv'd this Answer, That if they carried on the War with all their Strength and Vigour, the God would be on their side, both when they call'd upon him, and when they did not. Hereupon, they

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Summon'd the Confederates together again, to Vote whether they should proclaim War against Athens or not; most of them Voted that War should be proclaim'd, and then return'd Home, to make the neceffary Preparations, with the utmost Expedition. In the mean time the Lacedemonians fent Ambassadors to Athens, to expostulate with the Athenians; to the end that, if the Athenians would not give Ear. to them, they might have the fairer Pretence for making War. They requir'd the Athenians to Banish all those, who were obnoxious to the Curse of the Goddels Minerva, for the Breach of Sanctuary committed upon the Companions of Cylon. This they demanded under the Colour of Religion, but really because they knew, that Pericles, by the Mothers fide was related to the Curfe. They thought, that if they could remove him out of the way, the Athenians would more easily be brought to a compliance: nevertheless they did not believe that Pericles would be Banish'd, at their request; they only hop'd by that means to procure him the Envy of the People, by making the War feem to be brought upon them, in fome measure, upon his Account. For being the most powerful Man in the City, he always oppos'd the Lacedamonians, not suffering the Athenians to make the least Compliances, but inciting them tothe Ward

The Athenians, on the other hand, requir'd the Lacedemonians to banish those, who were guilty of Breach of Sanctuary upon the Helotæ, in the Temple of Neptune, at Tænarus; and upon Pausanias, in the Temple of Minerva Chalciæcus. After this, the Lacedemonians sent Ambassadors again to Athens, to require them to raise the Siege of Potidæa, and to suffer Ægina to enjoy her own Laws and Liberty; and more especially to tell them, that they would not make War upon them, if they would repeal that Act, whereby the Megarenses were excluded from their Forum and Ports. The Athenians would not comply with their Demands, nor repeal the Act against

against the Megarenses; but accus'd the Megarenses of having Tilled holy Ground, and receiving their Slaves who revolted from them. The Lacedamo. nians fent Ambassadors to Athens a third time. with this Proposal; That the Lacedemonians would not make War, upon Condition that the Atbenians would fuffer the other Grecians to enjoy their own Laws and Liberty. But Pericles, who had the fole Management of Affairs at Athens, would not fuffer the People to hearken to any Proposals of Peace, but exhorted them to make all the necessary Prepations for War, with the utmost Expedition (b). So that the War, which presently broke out after this, between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, seems, in a great measure, to owe its Beginning to Pericles. Tis true, the Athenians feem to have broken the Treaty, and the Lacedamonians were willing to reduce the Power of Athens, before it grew too great for them: Yet, the Breaches between them were not fo wide, but that they might have eafily been repair'd, had not Pericles buoy'd up the Athenians, and not fuffer'd them to comply with any of the Spartan's Demands. o ton slabbad and of main alud

He had embezel'd the Common-Treasure, which, being remov'd from Delos to Athens, was entrusted to his Management. This, according to Diodorus, consisted of near 8000 Talents, a great Part whereof Pericles had converted to his own private use. He was now accus'd of having misapplied the Publick Money, and was thereupon order'd to give an Account of it to the State. As he was sitting alone, in his own House, very Thoughtful upon this matter, his Nephew Alcibiades, who liv'd with him after the Death of his Father Clinias, being then very Young, came to him, and ask'd him what made him so Serious. Pericles told him, that, being

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commanded by the State to give an Account of the Publick Money, he was confidering how he fliorid do it to which Alcibiades very wittily replied That he should rather consider how he should not do it (e). Thus was that great Man, by an Hint from a Boy, taught to embroil his Country in all those Calamities, which afterwards befel it. For, after this, Pericles's only Aim was how to engage the Athenians in some dangerous Wary by which means the City, being diffracted with Bufiness of another Nature, would not have time to call him to an Account. When he first made these Resolutions. an Accident fell out, which very much incens'd the People against him. Phidias, a famous Statuary, having made the Statue of Minerva, and Pericles being appointed to overlook the Work, some of the Men that wrought under Phidias, upon some Quarrel or other, at the Instigation of Pericles's Adversaries, fled for Sanctuary to the Altars of the Gods. Being demanded the Reason of their flying to Sanctuary, upon no Occasion, they answer'd that they could prove that Phidias had Itolen a great Summ of Money belonging to the Goddess, not without the Privity and Content of Pericles. Hereupon, an Affembly being call'd, Pericles's Adversaries endeavour'd to perswade the People to apprehend Phidias, and accus'd Pericles of the Sacrilege. At the fame time, they accus'd Pericles's Master, Anaxagoras, of holding impious Opinions concerning the Gods, and endeavour'd to bring Pericles himtelf under the fame Accusation (d). Thus was Pericles in danger on all hands, he had embezel'd the Publick Money, and there was at the fame time a restless Party in the City, which, having for some time delign'd his Ruin, now refolv'd to take this Opportunity of accomplishing it: fo that to fecure himself from being facrifie'd

⁽c) Died. Sic. 1.12. Val. Max.1.3. c.1. (d) Died. Sic.1.12.

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to the Rage of the Faction, he us'd his utmost Endeavours to embroil the City in that long and bloody War with the Pelopounesians, which shall be particularly related in the next Volume of this History.

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